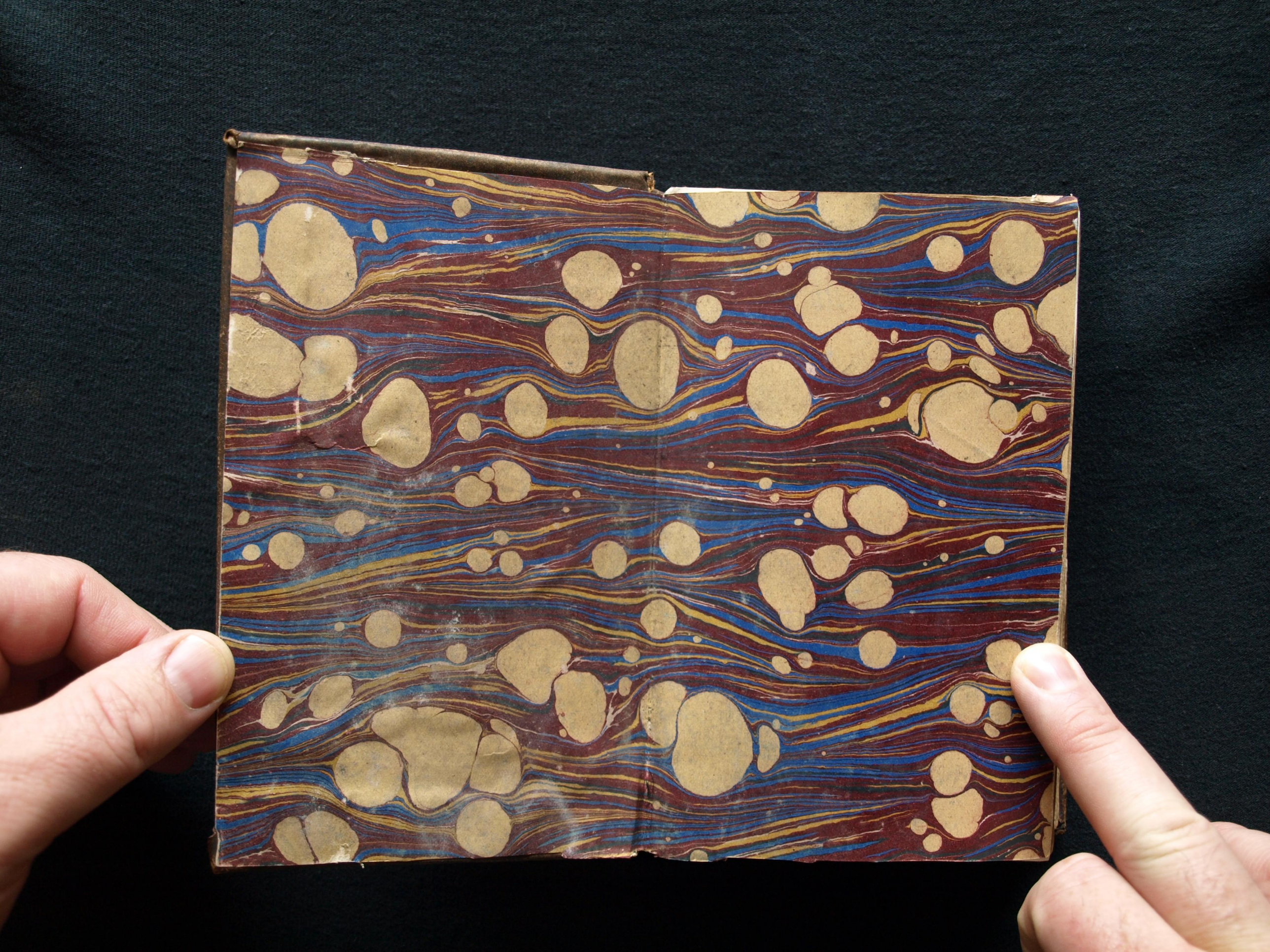


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St. C. 4



The Explanation of the EMBLEME.

Tenderibus genus omne malis, frebrig; gravatus.
Vbi ego ferendis ferrem. Palma ut Depressa, resurgo

Ac, velut immotus Fluctus Ventiq; furorem
Gratis Populi Rupes immota repulsa
Classes è tenebris, cœlestia Sidera, coruscis
Vultur et æternum felicis face triumpho

Hunc Fulgentem rutilo gemmisq; micantem,
At cui Gravidam spernendo calco Coronam.

Spinosam, at lætis faciem, qua Spes mea Christi
Nectitur. Mihi non est tractare molestum.

Æternam, fixis fidei, temperq; beatam
In Cœlos oculis Specto, Mihiq; paratam.

Quod Vanum est sperno; quod Christi Gratia confert
Quod studium est Virtutis Gloria meretur

Τὸ Χριστοῦ εἶδεν τὸν νοῦν, δεῖ τὸ Καλὸν.

Εἰκὼν Βασιλική.

THE POURTRAICTURE OF HIS SACRED MAJESTIE IN HIS SOLITUDES AND SUFFERINGS.

ROM. 8.
More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

Reprinted
In R. M. *An. Dom.* 1648.



The Explanation of the EMBLEME.

Tonderibus gemat cum malè, frebrig gravatus.
Vltrò ferenda ferens, Palma ut Depressa, resurgo

Ac, velut undarum Fluctus Ventiq. furorem
Brutæ Populi Rupes immota repulsa
Clarior è tenebris, cœlestia flamma, coruscis
Vibrat et æternum felicis face triumpho

Aurea Fulgentem rutilo gemmisq. micantem,
At cupidis Gravidam spernendo calco Coronam

Spinosam, at lætis facilem, qua Spes mea Christi
Sanctus. Mihi non est tractare molestum

Æternam, fixis fidei, semperq. beatam
In Cœlos oculis Specto, Mihiq. paratam.

Vanum est spernere; quod Christi Gratia parabat
Est meritum et Virtutis Gloria merces

Τὰ μὲν ἐάσειεν τὸν νοῦν, ἀεὶ τὸ Κάτωθεν

Though clogg'd with weights of miseries
Palm-like Depress'd, I higher rise.

And as th'unmoved Rock out-braves
The boistrous Windes and ragging Waves
So triumph I. And shine more bright
In sad Affliction's Darksom night.

That Splendid, but yet toilsom Crown
Regardlessly I trample down.

With joie I take this Crown of thorn,
Though sharp, yet easie to be born.

That heav'nlie Crown, already mine,
I view with eies of Faith divine.

I slight vain things; and do embrace
Glorie, *the just reward of Grace.*

G. D.

Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ.

THE POURTRAICTURE OF HIS SACRED MAJESTIE IN HIS SOLITUDES AND SUFFERINGS.

ROM. 8.
More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

C R

Reprinted
In R. M. *An. Dom.* 1648.

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'EIKΩ'N BAΣIΛIKH'.

1. *Upon His Majeſtie's calling this laſt Parliament.*

THis laſt Parliament I called, not more by other's advice, and neceſſitie of My affairs, then by My own choice and inclination; who have alwaies thought the right waie of Parliaments moſt ſafe for My Crown, as beſt pleaſing to My People: And although I was not forgetful of thoſe ſparks, which ſom men's diſtempers formerly ſtudied to kindle in Parliaments, (which, by forbearing to convene for ſom years, I hoped to have extinguiſhed) yet, reſolving with My ſelf to give all juſt ſatisfaction to modeſt and ſober deſires, and to redreſs all publick grievances in Church and State, I hoped (by My freedom and their Moderation) to prevent all miſunderſtandings and miſcarriages in this: In which as I feared affairs would meet with

ſom paſſion and prejudice in other men; ſo I reſolved they ſhould finde leaſt of them in My ſelf; not doubting, but by the weight of Reaſon I ſhould counterpoiz the over-balancings of anie Factions.

I was, indeed, ſorrie to hear with what partialitie and popular heat Elections were carried in manie places; yet, hopeing that the gravitie and diſcretion of other Gentlemen would allaie and fix the Commons to a due temperament (guideing ſom men's wel-meaning zeal by ſuch Rules of Moderation as are beſt both to preſerv and reſtore the health of all States and Kingdoms) No man was better pleaſed with the convening of this Parliament, then My ſelf; who knowing beſt the largeneſs of My own Heart toward My People's good, and juſt contentment, pleaſed My ſelf moſt in that good and firm underſtanding which would hence grow between Mee and My People.

All jealouſies beeing laid aſide, My own and My Children's Intereſts gave Mee manie obligations to ſeek and preſerv the love and and welfare of My Subjects; the onely temporal bleſſing that is left to the ambition of juſt Monarchs, as their greateſt honor and ſafetie, next God's protection. I cared not to leſſen My ſelf in ſom things of My wonted Prerogative, ſince I knew I could bee no loſer,

ſer, if I might gain but a recompence in My Subject's affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends, but Mine enemies alſo; exceeding even the deſires of thoſe that were factiouſly diſcontented, if they did but pretend to anie modeſt and ſober ſenſ.

The *odium* and offences which ſom men's rigor or remiſneſs in Church and State had contracted upon My Government, I reſolved to have expiated by ſuch Laws and regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amiſs in practice; but ſupplie what was defective in the conſtitution: No man haveing a greater zeal to ſee Religion ſettled, and preſerved in Truth, Unitie, and Order then My ſelf; whom it moſt concern's both in Pietie, and Policie, as knowing, that, No flames of civil diſſentions are more dangerous then thoſe which makes religious pretenſions the grounds of Factions.

I reſolved to reform what I ſhould by free and full advice in Parliament bee convinced to bee amiſs; and to grant whatever My Reaſon and Conſcience told Mee was fit to bee deſired; I wiſh I had kept My ſelf within thoſe bounds, and not ſuffered My own Judgment to have been over-born in ſom things, more by other's Importunities, then their Arguments; My confidence had leſs

betrayed

betrayed My ſelf and My Kingdoms to thoſe advantages, which ſom men ſought for, who wanted nothing but power and occaſion to do miſchief.

But our ſins beeing ripe, there was no preventing of God's Juſtice from reaping that glorie in our Calamities, which wee robb'd him of in our Proſperitie.

For thou (O Lord) haſt made us ſee, that Reſolutions of future Reforming do not alwaies ſatisfie thy Juſtice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miſcarriages.

Our ſins have overlaid our hopes; Thou haſt taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpoſe to amend.

When thou haſt vindicated thy glorie by thy Judgments, and haſt ſhewed us how unſafe it is to offend thee, upon preſumptions afterwards to pleaſ thee; Then I truſt thy mercies will reſtore thoſe bleſſings to us, which wee have ſo much abuſed, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timelie repentance of our ſins, thou giveſt us cauſ to repent of thoſe Remedies wee too late applie.

Yet I do not Repent of My calling this laſt Parliament; becauſ, O Lord, I did it, with an upright intention, to Thy glorie, and My People's good.

The Miſeries which have enſued upon Mee and My Kingdoms are the juſt effects of thy diſpleaſure upon us; and may bee yet (through thy mercie) preparatives of us to future bleſſings, and better hearts to enjoie them.

O Lord, though thou haſt deprived us of manie former comforts, yet grant Mee and My People the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chaſtiſements; that thy rod, as well as thy ſtaff, may comfort us: then ſhal wee dare to account them the ſtrokes not of an Enemie, but a Father, when thou giveſt us thoſe humble affections, that meaſure of patience in repentance, which becom's thy Children. I ſhall have no cauſ to repent the miſeries this Parliament hath occaſioned, when by them thou haſt brought Mee and My People, unfeignedly to repent of the ſins wee have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our ſufferings, then our Peace could bee with our ſins.

O thou Soveraign Goodneſs and Wiſdom, who over-ruleſt all our Counſels, over-rule alſo all our hearts, that the worſ things wee ſuffer by thy Juſtice, the better wee may bee by thy Mercie.

As our ſins have turned our Antidotes into Poiſon, ſo let thy Grace turn our Poiſon into Antidotes.

As the ſins of our Peace diſpoſed us to this unhappie War, ſo let this War prepare us for thy bleſſed Peace.

That although I have but troubleſom Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of Peace in My Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Chriſt hath purchaſed, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (though

(though a Sinner) for My Savior's ſake, Amen.

2: *Upon the Earl of* Strafford's *Death.*

I Looked upon My Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whoſe great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then aſhamed to emploie him in the greateſt affairs of State.

For thoſe were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakeings; and this was like enough to betraie him to great errors, and manie enemies: Whereof hee could not but contract good ſtore, while mooving in ſo high a ſpheer, and with ſo vigorous a luſtre, hee muſt need's (as the Sun) raiſ manie envious exhalations, which condenſed by a popular *odium*, were capable to caſt a cloud upon the brighteſt merit and integritie.

Though I cannot in My Judgment approov all hee did, driv'n (it may bee) by the neceſſities of Times, and the temper of that People, more then led by his own diſpoſition to anie height and rigor of actions: yet I could never bee convinced of anie ſuch criminouſneſs in him, as willingly to expoſe his life to the ſtroke of Juſtice, and malice of his Enemies.

I never met with a more unhappie conjuncture of affairs, then in the buſineſs of that unfortunate

unfortunate Earl: when, between My own unſatisfiedneſs in Conſcience, and a neceſſitie (as ſom told Mee) of ſatisfying the importunities of ſom people, I was perſwaded by thoſe, that I think wiſhed Mee well, to chuſe rather what was *ſafe*, then what ſeemed *juſt*; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactneſs of Conſcience with God.

And indeed I am ſo far from excuſeing or denying that compliance on My part (for plenarie conſent it was not) to his deſtruction, whom in My Judgment I thought not, by anie clear Law, guiltie of death: That I never bare any touch of Conſcience with greater regreet: which as a ſign of my repentance, I have often with ſorrow confeſſed both to God and men, as an act of ſo ſinful frailtie, that it diſcovered more a fear of Man, then of God; whoſe name and place on Earth no man is worthie to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of ſo high injuſtice, as no publick convenience can expiate or compenſate.

¶ I ſee it a bad exchange to wound a man's own conſcience, thereby to ſalv State-ſores; to calm the ſtorms of popular diſcontents, by ſtirring up a tempeſt in a man's own boſom.

Nor hath God's Juſtice failed in the event and ſad conſequences, to ſhew the world the fallacie

fallacie of that Maxim, *Better one man perish (though unjustly) then the people bee displeased, or destroied.*

In all likelihood I could never have suffered, with My People, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford's* innocencie, at least by denying to Sign that destructive *Bill*, according to that Justice, which My conscience suggested to Mee, then I have don since I gratified som men's unthankful importunities with so cruel a favor. And I have observed, that those, who counselled Mee to sign that *Bill*, have been so far from receiving the rewards of such ingratiateings with the People, that no men have been harassed and crushed more then they. Hee only hath been least vexed by them, who counselled Mee not to consent against the vote of My own Conscience: I hope God hath forgiv'n Mee and them the sinful rashness of that business.

To which, beeing in My soul so fully conscious, those Judgments God hath pleased to send upon Mee, are so much the more welcom, as a means (I hope) which his mercie hath sanctified so to Mee, as to make Mee repent of that unjust Act, (for so it was to Mee) and for the future to teach Mee, That the *best rule* of *Policie* is to prefer the doing of Justice, before all enjoyments; and the peace of My

My Conscience before the preservation of My Kingdoms.

Nor hath anie thing more fortified My resolutions against all those violent importunities, which since have sought to gain alike consent from Mee, to Acts, wherein My conscience is unsatisfied, then the sharp touches I have had for what passed Mee, in My Lord of *Strafford's* Business.

Not that I resolved to have emploied him in My affairs, against the advice of My Parliament; but I would not have had anie hand in his death, of whose guiltlesness I was better assured, then anie man living could bee.

Nor were the Crimes objected against him so clear, as after a long and fair Hearing, to give convinceing satisfaction to the Major part of both Houses, especially that of the Lords, of whom scarce a third part were present, when the *Bill* passed that Hous. And for the Hous of Commons, manie Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish My Lord of *Strafford's* greatness and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in Law, durst not condemn him to die: who for their integritie in their Votes, were (by posting their Names) exposed to the popular calumnie, hatred, and furie, which grew then so exorbitant in their clamors for *Justice*, (that is, to have both My self and the two Houses Vote, and do as they would

would have us) that manie ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concurr with the condemning Partie, then satisfied, that of right they ought so to do.

And that after-Act vacateing the Autoritie of the precedent, for future imitation, tell's the world, that som remorſ touched even his moſt implacable Enemies, as knowing hee had verie hard meaſure, and ſuch as they would bee verie loth ſhould bee repeated to themſelvs.

This tenderneſs and regreet I finde in My ſoul, for haveing had anie hand (and that verie unwillingly, God know's) in ſhedding one man's blood unjuſtly, though under the color and formalitie of Juſtice, and pretences of avoiding publick miſchiefs, which may (I hope) bee ſom evidence before God and Man, to all poſteritie, that I am far from bearing juſtly that vaſt load and guilt of all that blood which hath been ſhed in this unhappie War, which ſom men will needs charge on Mee, to eaſ their own ſouls, who am, and ever ſhall bee, more afraid to take away anie man's life unjuſtly, then to loſe mine own.

But thou O God of infinite mercies, forgive Mee that act of ſinful compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon Mee then anie man; ſince I had not the leaſt temptation of envie, or malice againſt him,

him, and by My Place ſhould, at leaſt ſo far, have been a Preſerver of him, as to have denied My conſent to his deſtruction.

O Lord, I acknowledg My tranſgreſſion, and My ſin is ever before Mee.

Deliver Mee from blood-guiltineſs O God, thou God of My ſalvation, and My tongue ſhall ſing of thy Righteouſneſs.

Againſt thee have I ſinned, and don this evil in thy ſight, for thou ſaweſt the contradiction between My Heart and My Hand.

Yet caſt Mee not away from thy Preſence, purge Mee with the blood of My Redeemer, and I ſhall bee clean; waſh Mee with that pretious effuſion, and I ſhall bee whiter then Snow.

Teach Mee to learn Righteouſneſs by thy Judgments, and to ſee My frailtie in thy Juſtice: while I was perſwaded, by ſhedding one man's blood, to prevent after-troubles; thou haſt for that, among other ſins, brought upon Mee, and upon My Kingdoms, great, long, and heavie troubles.

Make Mee to prefer Juſtice, which is thy will, before all contrarie clamors, which are but diſcoveries of man's injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcom Mee, to pleaſ them by diſpleaſing thee: O never ſuffer Mee for anie Reaſon of State, to go againſt My Reaſon of Conſcience, which is highly to ſin againſt thee, the God of Reaſon, and Judg of our Conſciences.

Whatever, O Lord, thou see'st fit to deprive Mee of, yet restore unto Mee the joie of thy Salvation, and ever uphold Mee with thy free Spirit; who subject's My will to none, but the light of Reason, Justice, and Religion, which shine's in My Soul: for thou desirest Truth in the inward parts, and Integritie in the outward expressions.

Lord hear the voice of thy Sons, and My Savior's Blood, which speak's better things: O make Mee, and My People, to hear the voice of Joie and Gladness, that the bones, which thou hast broken, may rejoice in thy Salvation.

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3. *Upon His Majestie's going to the Hous of Commons.*

MY going to the Hous of Commons to demand Justice upon the five Members, was an act which My enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great Jealousies and fears; yea, and manie of My friends resented it as a motion riseing rather from Passion then from Reason, and not guided with such discretion, as the touchiness of those times required.

But these men knew not the just motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought My

My self so furnished, that there needed nothing to such evidence, as I could have produced against those I charged, save onely a free and legal Trial, which was all I desired.

Nor had I anie temptation of displeasure, or revenge against those men's persons, further then I had discovered those (as I thought) unlawfull correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had made, to embroil My Kingdoms: of all which I missed but little to have produced writeings under som men's own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it so; yet I wanted not such probabilities as were sufficient to rais jealousies in anie King's heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the Publick Peace, which to preserv by calling in Question half a dozen men, in a fair and legal waie (which God know's was all My design) could have amounted to no worse effect, had it succeeded, then either to do Mee and My Kingdoms right, in case they had been found guiltie; or elf to have cleared their Innocencie, and removed My suspicion: which, as they were not raised out of anie malice, so neither were they in Reason to bee smothered.

What flames of discontent this spark

though I fought by all ſpeedie and poſſible means to quench it) ſoon kindled, all the world is witneſs: The aſſperſion which ſom men caſt upon that action, as if I had deſigned by force to aſſault the Houſ of Commons, and invade their Priviledg, is ſo falſ, that, as God beſt know's, I had no ſuch intent: ſo none that attended could juſtly gather from anie thing I then ſaid, or did, the leaſt intimation of anie ſuch thoughts.

That I went attended with ſom Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majeſtie and ſafetie of a King ſo to bee attended, eſpecially in diſcontented times; ſo were My followers at that time ſhort of My ordinarie Guard, and no waie proportionable to hazard a tumultuarie conflict. Nor were they more feared at My comming, then I was un-aſſured of not haveing ſom affronts caſt upon Mee, if I had none with Mee to preſerv a reverence to Mee; for manie people had (at that time) learned to think thoſe hard thoughts, which they have ſince abundantly vented againſt Mee, both by words and deeds.

The ſum of that Buſineſs was this:

Thoſe men and their adherents were then looked upon, by the affrighted Vulgar, as greater protectors of their Lawes and Liberties, then My ſelf, and worthier of their protection.

protection. I leav them to God, and their own Conſciences, who, if guiltie of evil machinations, no preſent impunitie, or popular vindications of them will bee ſubterfuge ſufficient to reſcue them from thoſe exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obſtructions of Juſtice among men, wee muſt religiouſly appeal, as beeing an argument to us Chriſtians of that after-un-avoidable judgment, which ſhall rejudg, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endevored to have prevented, if God had ſeen fit, thoſe future commotions, which I fore-ſaw, would in all likelihood follow ſom mens activitie (if not reſtrained) and ſo now hath don to the undoing of manie thouſands; the more is the pittie:

But to over-aw the freedom of the Houſes, or to weaken their juſt Autoritie by anie violent impreſſions upon them, was not at all My deſign: I thought I had ſo much Juſtice and Reaſon on My ſide, as ſhould not have needed ſo rough aſſiſtance: and I was reſolved rather to bear the repulſ with patience, then to uſe ſuch hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art My witneſs in Heaven, and in My heart: If I have purpoſed anie violence or oppreſsion againſt the Innocent: or

if there were anie such wickedness in My thoughts.

Then let the Enemie persecute My soul, and tread My life to the ground, and laie Mine Honor in the dust.

Thou that see'st not as man see'th, but lookest beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart, and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darkness, shew thy self.

Let not My afflictions bee esteemed (as with wise and godlie men they cannot bee) anie argument of of My sin, in that matter, more then their Impunitie among good men is anie sure token of their Innocencie.

But forgive them wherein they have don amiss, though they are not punished for it in this world.

Save thy Servant from the privie conspiracies, and open violence of bloodie and unreasonable men, according to the uprightness of My heart, and the innocencie of My hands in this matter.

Plead My cause, and maintain My right, O thou that sittest in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy servant may ever rejoice in thy salvation.

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4. *Upon the Insolencie of the Tumults.*

I Never thought anie thing (except our sins) more ominously presageing all these mischiefs which have followed, then those Tumults in *London* and *Westminster*, soon after

ter the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a storm at Sea, (which yet want's not it's terror) but like an Earthquake, shakeing the verie foundations of all; then which, nothing in the world hath more of horror.

As it is one of the most convinceing Arguments that there is a God, while his power set's bounds to the rageing of the Sea: so 'tis no less, that hee restrain's the madness of the people. Nor doth anie thing portend more God's displeasure against a Nation, then when hee suffer's the confluence and clamors of the Vulgar, to pass all boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Autoritie.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honor and Freedom of the two Houses, menaceing, reproaching, shakeing, yea, and assaulting som Members of both Houses, as they fancied or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude and unseemlie deportments, both in contemptuous words and actions, to My self and My Court.

Nor was this a short fit or two of shakeing, as an Ague, but a quotidian Fever, alwaies encreasing to higher inflammation, impatient of anie mitigation, restraint, or remission.

First, they must bee a Guard against those fears which som men scared themselvs and

others withall, when, indeed, nothing was more to bee feared and leſs to bee uſed by wiſe men then thoſe tumultuarie confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught firſt to Petition, then to Protect, then to Dictate, at laſt to Command and Over-aw the Parliament.

All obſtructions in Parliament (that is, a freedom of differing in Votes, and debateing matters with reaſon and candor) muſt bee taken away with theſe Tumults: By theſe muſt the Houſes bee purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleaſ to count them) caſt out: By theſe the obſtinacie of men, reſolved to diſcharge their Conſciences, muſt bee ſubdued; by theſe all factious, ſeditious, and ſchiſmatical Propoſals againſt Government Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, muſt bee backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had moſt minde to bring forth confuſion and ruine upon Church and State, uſed the midwiferie of thoſe Tumults; whoſe riot and impatience was ſuch, that they would not ſtaie the ripening and and ſeaſon of Counſels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravitie, and deliberateneſs befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous crueltie, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, ſuch as their Inviters and Encouragers moſt fancied.

Yea, ſo enormous and deteſtable were their out-rages, that no ſober man could bee without an infinite ſhame and ſorrow to ſee them ſo tolerated, and connived at by ſom, countenanced, encouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want anie thing hee moſt deſired, for the Publick good, then obtain it by ſuch unlawful and irreligious means? But men's paſſions and God's directions ſeldom agree; violent deſigns and motions muſt have ſuteable engines, ſuch as too much attend their own ends, ſeldom confine themſelvs to God's means. Force muſt crowd in, what Reaſon will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrones of Tumults to ſend for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and turn their clamorous importunities, ſom men yet liveing are too conſcious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let theſe ſee, that thoſe were no fit means to bee uſed for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no ſtrange thing for the ſea to rage, when ſtrong windes blow upon it; ſo, neither for multitudes to becom inſolent, when they have Men of ſom reputation for parts and pietie to ſet them on.

That which made their rudeneſs moſt formidable, was, That manie Complaints bee-

ing made, and Meſſages ſent by My ſelf and ſom of both Houſes; yet no order for redreſs could bee obtained with anie vigor and efficacie, proportionable to the malignitie of that now far-ſpread diſeaſ, and predominant miſchief.

Such was ſom men's ſtupiditie, that they feared no inconvenience: Other's petulancie, that they joied to ſee their Betters ſhamefully out-raged and abuſed, while they knew their onely ſecuritie conſiſted in vulgar flatterie: So inſenſible were they of Mine, or the two Houſes common ſafetie and Honors.

Nor could ever anie order bee obtained, impartially to examine, cenſure, and puniſh the known *Bouteſeus*, and impudent Incendiaries, who boaſted of the influence they had, and uſed to convoke thoſe Tumults, as their advantages ſerved.

Yea, ſom (who ſhould have been wiſer Stateſ-men) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal, and Induſtrie; which to ſober men could ſeem no better then that of the Devil, who *goe's about ſeeking whom hee may* deceiv, and *devour*.

I confeſs, when I found ſuch a deafneſs, that no Declaration from the Biſhops, who were firſt fouly inſolenced and aſſaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honor; nor yet from My ſelf could take place for

for the due ſuppreſſion of theſe Tumults; and ſecureing, not onely Our Freedom in Parliament, but Our verie Perſons in the ſtreets; I thought My ſelf not bound by My preſence, to provoke them to higher boldneſs and contempts: I hoped, by My with-drawing, to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous furie, and other's regaining ſom degrees of modeſtie and ſober ſenſ.

Som may interpret it as an effect of Puſillanimitie for anie man for popular terrors to deſert his Publick Station. But I think it a hardineſs, beyond true valor, for a wiſe man to ſet himſelf againſt the breaking in of a Sea; which to reſiſt, at preſent, threaten's imminent danger; but to with-draw, give's it ſpace to ſpend it's furie, and gaine's a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly, a Gallant man had rather fight, to great diſadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderlie waie, then skuffle with an undiſciplined rabble.

Som ſuſpected and affirmed that I meditated a War, (when I went from *White-hall* onely to redeem My Perſon, and Conſcience from violence) God know's, I did not then think of a War. Nor will anie prudent man conceiv, that I would by ſo manie former, and ſom after-Acts, have ſo much weakned My ſelf, if I had purpoſed to engage in a War, which

which to decline by all means, I denied My ſelf in ſo manie particulars : 'Tis evident I had then no Armie to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Mee, or anie other, for with-drawing our ſelvs from the dailie baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their furie and diſcontent might not flie ſo high, as to worrie and tear thoſe in pieces, whom as yet they but plaied with in their paws ? God, who is My ſole Judg, is My Witneſs in Heaven, that I never had anie thoughts of going from My Houſ at *Whitehall*, if I could have had but anie reaſonable fair Quarter : I was reſolved to bear much, and did ſo, but I did not think My ſelf bound to proſtitute the Majeſtie of My Place and Perſon, the ſafetie of My Wife and Children to thoſe, who are prone to inſult moſt, when they have objects and opportunitie moſt capeable of their rudeneſs and petulancie.

But this buſineſs of the Tumults (whereof ſom have given already an account to God, others yet liveing know themſelvs deſperately guiltie) Time and the guilt of manie hath ſo ſmothered up and buried, that I think it beſt to leav it, as it is ; onely, I believ the juſt Avenger of all diſorders will in time make thoſe men, and that Cittie ſee their ſin in

in the glaſs of their puniſhment. 'Tis more then an even-laie that they may one daie ſee themſelvs puniſhed by that waie they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in it's firſt Election and Conſtitution, ſate full and free, the Members of both Houſes beeing left to their freedom of Voteing, as in all reaſon, honor, and Religion, they ſhould have been ; I doubt not but things would have been ſo carried, as would have given no leſs content to all good men, then they wiſhed or expected.

For, I was reſolved to hear reaſon in all things, and to conſent to it ſo far as I could comprehend it : but as Swine are to Gardens and orderlie Plantations ; ſo are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourſes to publick Councils, turning all into diſorders and ſordid confuſions.

I am prone ſomtimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to anie other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have don) the ſad conſequences in all likelihood, with God's bleſſing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcom in anie place ; no place afforded ſuch confluence of various and vitious humors, as that where it was unhappily convened. But wee muſt leav all to God, who order's our diſorders, and magnifie's his wiſdom

most, when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

But thou, O Lord, art My refuge and defence, to thee I may safely flie, who rulest the rageing of the Sea, and the madness of the People.

The floods, O Lord, the floods are com in upon Mee, and are readie to overwhelm Mee.

I look upon My sins, and the sins of My People, (which are the tumults of our Souls against thee O Lord) as the just cause of these popular inundations, which thou permittest to over-bear all the banks of Loyaltie, Modestie, Laws, Justice, and Religion.

But thou that gathered'st the waters into one place, and madest the drie land to appear, and after did'st assuage the flood which drowned the world, by the word of thy Power; rebuke those beasts of the People, and deliver Mee from the rudeness and striveings of the multitude.

Restore, wee beseech thee, unto us, the freedoms of our Councels and Parliaments, make us unpassionately to see the light of Reason, and Religion, and with all order and gravitie to follow it, as it becom's Men and Christians, so shall wee praise thy Name, who art the God of Order and Counsel.

What man cannot, or will not repress, thy Omnipotent Justice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet liveing, a timelie sense and sorrow for their great sin, whom thou knowest

knowest guiltie of raising, or not suppressing those disorders: Let shame here, and not suffering hereafter bee their punishment.

Set bounds to our passions by Reason, to our errors by Truth, to our seditions by Laws duely exeeuted, and to our schisms by Charitie, that wee may bee, as thy Jerusalem, *a Citie at unitie in it self.*

This grant, O My God, in thy good time, for Jesus Christ's sake, Amen.

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5. *Upon His Majestie's passing the* Bill *for the* Triennial *Parliaments: And after settling this, dureing the pleasure of the two Houses.*

THat the world might bee fully confirmed in My purposes at first, to contribute, what in Justice, Reason, Honor, and Conscience I could, to the Happie success of this Parliament, (which had in Mee no other design but the General good of My Kingdoms) I willingly passed the *Bill* for *Triennial* Parliaments: which, as gentle and seasonable Physick, might (if well applied) prevent anie distempers from getting anie head of prevailing; especially, if the remedie prooved not a diseas beyond all remedie.

I conceived, this Parliament would finde

work

work with convenient receſſes for the firſt three years; but I did not imagin that ſom men would thereby have occaſioned more work then they found to do, by undoing ſo much as they found well don to their hands. Such is ſom men's activitie, that they will needs make work, rather then want it; and chuſe to bee doing amiſs, rather then do nothing.

When that firſt Act ſeemed too ſcantie to ſatisfie ſom men's fears, and compaſs Publick Affairs; I was perſwaded to grant that *Bill* of Sitting dureing the pleaſure of the Houſes, which amounted, in ſom men's ſenſ, to as much as the perpetuateing this Parliament. By this Act of higheſt confidence, I hoped for ever to ſhut out, and lock the door upon all preſent Jealouſies and future miſtakes: I confeſs I did not thereby intend to ſhut My ſelf out of doors, as ſom men have now requited Mee.

True: it was an Act unparalell'd by anie of My Predeceſſors, yet cannot in reaſon admit of anie worſ interpretation then this, of an extream confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill uſe of an Act, by which I declared ſo much to truſt them, as to denie My ſelf in ſo high a point of Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it juſt or fit that My condition ſhould bee worſ by My bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been ſo in the events, if ſom men had known as well with moderation to uſe, as with earneſtneſs to deſire advantages of doing good or evil.

A continual Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weal in tune, by preſerving Laws in their due execution and vigor, wherein My intereſt lie's more then anie man's, ſince by thoſe Laws, My Rights, as a KING, would bee preſerved no leſs then my Subject's; which is all I deſired. More then the Law giv's mee I would not have, and leſs the meaneſt Subject ſhould not.

Som (as I have heard) gave it out, that I ſoon repented mee of that ſettling *Act*: and manie would needs perſwade mee, I had cauſ ſo to do: but I could not eaſily nor ſuddenly ſuſpect ſuch ingratitude in men of Honor; That the more I granted them, the leſs I ſhould have, and enjoie with them. I ſtill counted My ſelf undiminiſhed by My largeſt conceſſions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of My People.

Of which, I do not yet deſpair, but that God will ſtill bleſs Mee with increaſ of it; when *Men* ſhall have more leiſure, and leſs prejudice: that ſo with unpaſſionate repreſentations they may reflect upon thoſe, (as I think) not more princelie then friendlie contri-

butions, which I granted towards the perpetuateing of their happineſs, who are now onely miſerable in this, That ſom men's ambition will not give them leav to enjoie what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in God's due time, the loyal and cleared affections of My people will ſtrive to return ſuch retributions of Honor and love to Mee, or My Poſteritie, as may fully compenſate both the Acts of My confidence and My ſufferings for them; which (God know's) have been neither few, nor ſmall, nor ſhort; occaſioned chiefly by a perſwaſion I had, that I could not grant too much, or diſtruſt too little to Men, that beeing profeſſedly My Subjects, pretended ſingular pietie and religious ſtrictneſs.

The injurie of all injuries is, That which ſom men will needs load Mee withall, as if I were a wilful and reſolved Occaſioner of My own and My Subject's miſeries, while (as they confidently, but (God know's) falſly divulge) I repineing at the eſtabliſhment of this Parliament, endevored by force and open hoſtilitie to undo what by My Royal aſſent I had don. Sure it had argued a verie ſhort ſight of things, and extream fatuitie of minde in Mee, ſo far to binde My own hands at their requeſt, if I had ſhortly meant to have uſed a Sword againſt them. God know's, though

though I had then a ſenſ of injuries, yet not ſuch, as to think them worth vindicateing by a War: I was not then compelled, as ſince, to injure My ſelf by their not uſeing favors, with the ſame candor wherewith they were conferred. The tumults indeed threatned to abuſe all Acts of Grace, and turn them into Wantonneſs; but I thought at length their own fears, whoſe black arts firſt raiſed up thoſe turbulent ſpirits, would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had juſtly reſented anie indignities put upon Mee, or others, was I then in anie capacitie to have taken juſt revenge in an Hoſtile and Warlike waie upon thoſe, whom I knew ſo well fortified in the love of the meaner ſort of people, that I could not have giv'n My Enemies greater, and more deſired advantages againſt Mee, then, by ſo unprincelie Inconſtancie, to have aſſaulted them with Arms, thereby to ſcatter them, whom but lately I had ſolemnly ſettled by an Act of Parliament.

God know's, I longed for nothing more then that My ſelf, and My Subjects might quietly enjoie the fruits of My manie condeſcendings.

It had been a Courſ full of ſin, as well as of hazard, and diſhonor for Mee to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which

I had so lately planted, so much (as I thought) to My Subject's content, and Mine own too, in all probabilitie: If som men had not feared where no fear was, whose securitie consisted in scareing others.

I thank God, I know so well the sinceritie and uprightness of My own heart, in passing that great *Bill*, which exceeded the verie thoughts of former times, That although I may seem a less Politician to men, yet I need no secret distinctions or evasions before God. Nor had I anie reservations in My own Soul, when I passed it; nor repentings after, till I saw that My letting som men go up to the Pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to cast Mee down head-long; concludeing, that without a Miracle, Monarchie it self, together with Mee, could not but bee dashed in pieces, by such a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercie forgive, and make them see at length, That as manie Kingdoms as the Devil shewed our Saviour, and the glorie of them, (if they could bee at once enjoied by them) are not worth the gaining, by the waies of sinful ingratitude and dishonor, which hazard's a soul worth more worlds, then this hath Kingdoms:

But God hath hitherto preserved Mee, and made Mee to see, That it is no strange thing for men, left to their own passions, either to do

do much evil themselvs, or abuse the overmuch goodness of others, whereof an ungrateful Surfeit is the most desperate and incureable disease.

I cannot saie properly that I repent of that Act, since I have no reflexions upon it as a sin of My will, though an error of too charitable a judgment: Onely I am sorrie other men's eies should bee evil, becaus Mine were good.

To thee (O My God) do I still appeal, whose All-discerning Justice see's through all the disguises of men's pretensions, and deceitful darknesses of their hearts.

Thou gavest Mee a heart to grant much to My Subjects; and now I need a heart fitted to suffer much from som of them.

Thy will bee don, though never so much to the crossing of our's, even when Wee hope to do what might bee most conformable to thine and their's too; who pretended they aimed at nothing els.

Let thy grace teach Mee wisely to enjoie as well the frustrateings, as the fulfillings of My best hopes, and most specious desires.

I see while I thought to allaie other's fears, I have raised Mine own; and by settleing them, have unsettled My Self.

Thus have they requited Mee evil for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.

O Lord, bee thou My Pilot in this dark and dangerous ſtorm, which neither admit's My return to the Port whence I ſet out, nor My makeing anie other, with that ſafetie and honor which I deſigned.

'Tis eaſie for thee to keep Mee ſafe in the love and confidence of My People; nor is it hard for thee to preſerv Mee amidſt the unjuſt hatred and jealouſies of too manie, which thou haſt ſuffered ſo far to prevail upon Mee, as to bee able to pervert and abuſe My Acts of greateſt Indulgence to them, and aſſurance of them.

But no favors from Mee can make others more guiltie then My ſelf may bee, of miſ-uſeing thoſe manie and great ones, which thou, O Lord, haſt conferred on Mee.

I beſeech thee, give Mee and them ſuch Repentance, as thou wilt accept, and ſuch Grace as wee may not abuſe.

Make Mee ſo far happie, as to make a right uſe of other's abuſes, and by their failings of Mee, to reflect, with a reforming diſpleaſure, upon My offences againſt thee.

So, although for My ſins I am by other men's ſins deprived of thy temporal bleſſings, yet I may bee happie to enjoie the comfort of thy mercies, which often raiſ the greateſt ſufferers to bee the moſt glorious Saints.

6. Upon

6. *Upon His Majeſtie's retirement from* Weſtminſter.

WIth what willingneſs I with-drew from *Weſtminſter* let them judg, who, unprovided of tackling and victual, are forced to Sea by a ſtorm; yet better do ſo, then venture ſplitting or ſinkeing on a Lee-ſhore.

I ſtaied at *White-hall*, till I was driv'n away by ſhame more then fear; to ſee the barbarous rudeneſs of thoſe Tumults, who reſolved they would take the boldneſs to demand anie thing, and not leav either My ſelf, or the Members of Parliament, the libertie of our Reaſon and Conſcience to denie them anie thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppreſſion My caſe alone, (though chiefly Mine) For the Lords and Commons might bee content to bee over-voted by the *major* part of their Houſes, when they had uſed each their own freedom.

Whoſe agreeing Votes were not by anie Law or reaſon concluſive to My Judgment; nor can they include, or carrie with them My conſent, whom they repreſent not in anie kinde: Nor am I further bound to agree with

the Votes of both Houſes, then I ſee them agree with the will of God, with My juſt Rights, as a King, and the general good of My People. I ſee that as manie men they are ſeldom of one minde; and I may oft ſee, that the *major* part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to ſober and moderate mindes; how deſirous I was to give all juſt content, when I agreed to ſo manie Bills, which had been enough to ſecure and ſatisfie all; If ſom men's Hydropick inſatiableneſs had not learned to thirſt the more by how much the more they drank; whom no fountain of Royal bountie was able to overcom; ſo reſolved they ſeemed, either utterly to exhauſt it, or barbarouſly to obſtruct it.

Sure it ceaſe's to bee Counſel, when not Reaſon is uſed, as to men, to perſwade; but force and terror, as to beaſts, to drive and compel men to aſſent to whatever tumultuarie patrons ſhall project. Hee deſerv's to bee a ſlave without pittie or redemption, that is content to have the rational Soveraigntie of his Soul, and libertie of his Will and words ſo captivated.

Nor do I think My Kingdoms ſo conſiderable as to preſerv them with the forfeiture of that freedom, which cannot bee denied Mee as a King, becauſ it belong's to Mee as a Man,

a Man, and a Chriſtian; owning the Dictates of none, but God, to bee above Mee, as obligeing Mee to conſent. Better for Mee to die enjoying this Empire of My ſoul, which ſubject's Mee onely to God, ſo far as by Reaſon or Religion hee direct's Mee, then live with the title of a King, if it ſhould carrie ſuch a vaſſalage with it, as not to ſuffer Mee to uſe My Reaſon and Conſcience, in what I declare as a King, to like or diſlike.

So far am I from thinking the Majeſtie of the Crown of *England* to bee bound by anie Coronation-Oath, in a blinde and brutiſh formalitie, to conſent to whatever it's Subjects in *Parliament* ſhall require, as ſom men will needs infer; while, denying Mee anie power of a Negative voice as King, they are not aſhamed to ſeek to deprive Mee of the libertie of uſeing My Reaſon with a good Conſcience, which themſelvs, and all the Commons of *England* enjoie proportionable to their influence on the Publick; who would take it verie ill to bee urged, not to denie, whatever My ſelf, as King, or the Houſ of Peers with Mee, ſhould not ſo much deſire, as enjoin them to paſs. I think My Oath fully diſcharged in that point by My Governing onely by ſuch Laws, as My People, with the Houſ of Peers, have choſen, and My ſelf have conſented to. I ſhall never think My ſelf conſcientiouſly

ſcientiouſly tied to go as oft againſt My Conſcience, as I ſhould conſent to ſuch new Propoſals, which My Reaſon, in Juſtice, Honor, and Religion, bid's Mee denie.

Yet ſo tender I ſee ſom men are of their beeing ſubject to Arbitrarie Government, (that is, the Law of another's will, to which themſelvs give no conſent) that they care not with how much diſhonor and abſurditie they make the King the onely man that muſt bee ſubject to the will of others, without haveing power left Him, to uſe His own Reaſon, either in Perſon, or by anie Repreſentation.

And if My diſſentings at anie time were (as ſom have ſuſpected, and uncharitably avowed) out of error, opinionativeneſs, weakneſs, or wilfulneſs, and what they call Obſtinacie in Mee (which not true Judgment of things, but ſom vehement prejudice or paſſion hath fixed on My minde;) yet can no man think it other then the Badg and Method of Slaverie, by ſavage rudeneſs, and importunate obtruſions of violence, to have the miſt of His Error and Paſſion diſpelled, which is a ſhadow of Reaſon, and muſt ſerv thoſe that are deſtitute of the ſubſtance. Sure that man cannot bee blameable to God or Man, who ſeriouſly endevor's to ſee the beſt reaſon of things, and faithfully follow's

follow's what hee take's for Reaſon: The uprightneſs of his intentions will excuſe the poſſible failings of his underſtanding: If a Pilot at Sea cannot ſee the Pole-ſtar, it can bee no fault in him to ſteer his courſ by ſuch ſtars as do beſt appear to him. It argue's rather thoſe men to bee conſcious of their defects of Reaſon, and convinceing Arguments, who call in the aſſiſtance of meer force to carrie on the weakneſs of their Counſels and Propoſals. I may, in the truth and uprightneſs of My heart, proteſt before God and Men, that I never wilfully oppoſed, or denied anie thing that was in a fair waie, after full and free debates propounded to Mee by the two Houſes, further then I thought, in good reaſon, I might and was bound to do.

Nor did anie thing ever pleaſ Mee more, then when My Judgment ſo concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conſcience conſent to them: yea, in manie things where not abſolute and moral neceſſitie of Reaſon, but temporarie convenience in point of Honor was to bee conſidered, I choſe rather to denie My ſelf, then them: as preferring that which they thought neceſſarie for My People's good, before what I ſaw but convenient for My ſelf.

For I can bee content to recede much from

from My own Intereſts and Perſonal Rights, of which I conceiv My ſelf to bee Maſter; but in what concern's Truth, Juſtice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crown, together with the general good of My Kingdoms; (which I am bound to preſerv as much as morally lie's in Mee) here I am, and ever ſhall bee fixt and reſolute, nor ſhall anie man gain My conſent to that, wherein My Heart give's My tongue or hand the Lie; nor will I bee brought to affirm that to Men, which in My Conſcience I denie before God. I will rather chuſe to wear a Crown of Thorns with My Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Mee) for one of Lead, whoſe embaſed flexibleneſs ſhall bee forced to bend and complie to the various, and oft-contrarie Dictates of anie Factions; when, in ſtead of Reaſon and Publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what make's for the intereſt of Parties, and flow's from the partialities of Private Wils and Paſſions.

I know no reſolutions more worthie a Chriſtian King, then to prefer His Conſcience before His Kingdoms.

O My God, preſerv thy Servant in this Native, Rational, and Religious Freedom; for this I believ is thy will that wee ſhould maintain: who, though

though thou do'ſt juſtly require us to ſubmit our underſtandings and wils to thine, whoſe Wiſdom and Goodneſs can neither err, nor miſguid us, and ſo far to denie our carnal reaſon, in order to thy Sacred Myſteries and Commands, that wee ſhould believ and obeie, rather then diſpute them; yet do'ſt thou expect from us, onely ſuch a reaſonable ſervice of thee, as not to do anie thing for thee, againſt our Conſciences; and as to the deſires of men, enjoineſt us to trie all things by the touch-ſtone of Reaſon and Laws which are the Rules of Civil Juſtice, and to declare our conſents to that onely which our Judgments approov.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord, how unwilling I was to deſert that place, in which thou haſt ſet Mee, and whereto the affairs of My Kingdoms at preſent did call Mee.

My People can witneſs how far I have been content, for their good, to denie My ſelf in what thou ha'ſt ſubjected to My diſpoſal.

O let not the unthankful importunities and tumultuarie violence of ſom men's immoderate demands ever betraie Mee to that degenerous & unmanlie ſlaverie, which ſhould make Mee ſtrengthen them by My conſent in thoſe things which, I think in My Conſcience, to bee againſt thy glorie, the good of My Subjects, and the diſcharge of My own dutie in Reaſon and Juſtice.

Make Mee willing to ſuffer the greateſt indig-

nities

nities and injuries they preſs upon Mee, rather then commit the leaſt ſin againſt My Conſcience.

Let the juſt Liberties of My People bee (as well they may) preſerved in fair and equal waies, without the ſlaverie of My ſoul.

Thou that haſt inveſted Mee by thy favors in the power of a Chriſtian King, ſuffer Mee not to ſubject My Reaſon to other men's paſsions and deſigns, which to Mee ſeem unreaſonable, unjuſt, and irreligious: So ſhall I ſerv thee in the truth and uprightneſs of My heart, though I cannot ſatisfie theſe men.

Though I bee driv'n from among them, yet give Mee grace to walk alwaies uprightly before thee.

Lead Mee in the waie of Truth and Juſtice; for theſe, I know, will bring Mee at laſt to peace and happineſs with thee; though for theſe I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for My Saviour's ſake.

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7. *Upon the Queen's departure and abſence out of* England.

ALthough I have much cauſ to bee troubled at My Wife's departure from Mee, and out of My Dominions; yet not her abſence ſo much, as the ſcandal of that neceſſitie,

neceſſitie, wch drive's Her away, doth afflict Mee. That Shee ſhould bee compelled by My own ſubjects, and thoſe pretending to bee Proteſtants, to withdraw for Her ſafetie: This beeing the firſt example of anie Proteſtant-Subjects, that have taken up Arms againſt their King, a Proteſtant: for I look upon this now don in *England*, as another Act of the ſame Tragedie which was lately begun in *Scotland*; the brands of that fire beeing ill quenched have kindled the like flames here. I fear ſuch motions (ſo little to the adorning of the Proteſtant profeſſion) may occaſion a farther alienation of minde, and divorce of affections in Her, from that Religion, which is the onely thing wherein wee differ.

Which yet God can, and, I pray, hee would in time take away; and not ſuffer theſe practiſes to bee anie obſtruction to Her judgment; ſince it is the motion of thoſe men, (for the moſt part) who are yet to ſeek and ſettle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners, and ſo not to bee imputed to the true Engliſh Proteſtants; who continue firm to their former ſettled Principles and Laws.

I am ſorrie My relation to ſo deſerving a Ladie ſhould bee anie occaſion of Her danger and affliction: whoſe merits would have ſerved Her for a protection among the ſavage

vage *Indians*; while their rudeneſs and barbaritie know's not ſo perfectly to hate all Virtues, as ſom men's ſubtiltie doth; among whom I yet think few are ſo malitious as to hate Her for Her ſelf. The fault, is that Shee is My Wife.

All juſtice then as well as affection command's Mee to ſtudie Her Securitie, who is onely in danger for My ſake; I am content to bee toſſed, weather-beaten, and ſhipwrack't, ſo as Shee may bee in a ſafe Harbour.

This comfort I ſhall enjoie by Her ſafetie in the mid'ſt of My Perſonal dangers, that I can periſh but half, if Shee bee preſerved: In whoſe memorie and hopeful Poſteritie, I may yet ſurvive the malice of My enemies, although they ſhould bee ſatiated with My blood.

I muſt leav Her, and them, to the Love and Loyaltie of My good Subjects; and to his protection, who is able to puniſh the faults of Princes, and no leſs ſeverely to revenge the injuries don to Them, by thoſe, who, in all dutie and Allegiance, ought to have made good that ſafetie, which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civilitie is in vain expected from thoſe that diſpute their Loyaltie: Nor can it bee ſafe (for anie relation) to a King, to tarrie among them who are ſhakeing hands with

with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faſter hold on their Religion.

'Tis pittie ſo noble and peaceful a Soul ſhould ſee, much more ſuffer, the rudeneſs of thoſe who muſt make up their want of juſtice, with inhumanitie and impudence.

Her ſympathie with Mee in My afflictions, will make Her Virtues ſhine with greater luſtre, as ſtars in the darkeſt nights: and aſſure the envious world, that Shee love's Mee, not My fortunes.

Neither of Us but can eaſily forgive, ſince Wee do not much blame the unkindeneſs of the Generalitie, and Vulgar; for Wee ſee God is pleaſed to trie both Our patience, by the moſt ſelf-puniſhing ſin, the ingratitude of thoſe, who haveing eaten of Our bread, and beeing enriched with Our bountie, have Scornfully lift up themſelvs againſt Us; and thoſe of our own Houſhold are becom Our enemies. I praie God laie not their ſin to their charge: who think to ſatisfie all obligations to dutie, by their *Corban* of Religion: and can leſs indure to ſee, then to ſin againſt their benefactors as well as their Sovereigns.

But even that policie of My enemies is ſo far venial, as it was neceſſarie to their deſigns, by ſcandalous Articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to ſeek to drive Her out of My Kingdoms: leſt by the influence of Her

example, eminent for love as a Wife, and loyaltie as a Subject, shee should have converted to, or retained in their love, and Loyaltie, all those whom they had a purpose to pervert.

The less I may bee blest with her companie, the more *I* will retire to God, and My own Heart, whence no malice can banish Her. My enemies may envie, but they can never deprive Mee of the enjoiment of her virtues, while I enjoie my self.

Thou O Lord, whose Justice at present see's fit to scatter us, let thy mercie, in thy due time, reunite us on earth, if it bee thy will; however bring us both at last, to thy heavenly Kingdom.

Preserv us from the hands of our despiteful and deadlie enemies: and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though wee differ in som things, as to Religion (which is my greatest temporal infelicitie) yet Lord give, and accept the sinceritie of our affections, which desire to seek, to finde, to embrace everie Truth of thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy self, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou would'st have us to know, in order to thy glorie, our publick relations, and our soul's eternal good, and make us careful to to do what good wee know.

Let neither Ignorance of what is necessarie to be known

known, nor unbelief, or disobedience to what wee know, bee our miserie, or our wilful default.

Let not this great Scandal of those My Subjects, which profess the same Religion with Mee, bee anie hinderance to her love of anie Truth thou would'st have her to learn, nor anie hardning of her in anie error thou would'st have cleared to her.

Let mine, and other men's constancie bee an Antidote against the poison of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I profess, bee represented to her Judgment, with all the beauties of Humilitie, Loyaltie, Charitie, and Peaceableness; which are the proper fruits and ornaments of it: Not in the odious disguises of Levitie, Schism, Heresie, Noveltie, Crueltie, and Disloyaltie, which som men's practices have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saveing Truthes, as Thine; that shee may believ, love and obeie them as Thine, cleared from all rust and dross of humane mixtures.

That in the glass of thy Truth shee may see thee, in those mercies which thou hast offered to us, in thy Son Jesus Christ, our onely Saviour, and serv thee in all those Holie duties, which most agree with his holie doctrine, and most imitable example.

The experience wee have of the vanitie, and uncertaintie of all humane Glorie, and greatness

in Our ſcatterings and Eclipſes, let it make Us both ſo much the more ambitious to bee inveſted in thoſe durable Honors, and Perfections, which are onely to bee found in thy ſelf, and obtained through Jeſus Chriſt.

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8. *Upon his Majeſtie's repulſ at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulſ at *Hull* ſeemed at the firſt view an act of ſo rude diſloialtie, that My greateſt enemies had ſcarce confidence enough to abett, or own it: It was the firſt overt Eſſaie to bee made, how patiently I could bear the loſs of My Kingdoms.

God know's, it affected Mee more with ſhame and ſorrow for others, then with anger for My ſelf: nor did the affront don to Mee trouble Mee ſo much as their ſin, which admitted no color or excuſe.

I was reſolved how to bear this, and much more with patience: but I fore-ſaw they could hardly contain themſelvs within the compaſs of this unworthie act, who had effronterie enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was ſoon after to over-ſpread the whole Kingdom, and caſt all into diſorder and darkneſs.

For

For 'tis among the wicked Maxims of bold and diſloyal undertakers, That bad actions muſt alwaies bee ſeconded with worſ; and rather not bee begun, then not carried on; for they think the retreat more dangerous then the aſſault, and hate repentance more then perſeverance in a Fault.

This gave Mee to ſee clearly through all the pious diſguiſes, and ſoft palliations of ſom men; whoſe words were ſomtime ſmoother then oil, but now I ſaw they would proov verie Swords.

Againſt which, I haveing (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conſcience, thought it My beſt policie (with patience) to bear what I could not remedie: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no diſdain, or emotion of paſſion tranſported Mee by the indignitie of his carriage, to do or ſaie anie thing unbeſeeming My ſelf, or unſuteable to that temper, which, in greateſt injuries, I think, beſt becom's a Chriſtian, as comming neareſt to the great example of Chriſt.

And, indeed, I deſire alwaies more to remember I am a Chriſtian, then a King; for what the Majeſtie of one might juſtly abhor, the charitie of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humilitie of a Chriſtian teacheth

to forgive. Keeping in compaſs all thoſe impotent paſſions, whoſe exceſs injure's a man, more then his greateſt enemies can; for theſe give their malice a full impreſſion on our ſouls, which otherwaies cannot reach verie far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but obſerv how God not long after ſo pleaded and avenged My cauſ, in the eie of the world, that the moſt wilfully blinde cannot avoid the diſpleaſure to ſee it, and with ſom remorſ and fear to own it as a notable ſtroak and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham*, unreproached, unthreatned, uncurſed by anie language or ſecret imprecation of Mine, onely blaſted with the conſcience of his own wickedneſs, and falling from one inconſtancie to another, not long after paie's his own and his eldeſt Son's heads, as forfeitures of their diſloialtie, to thoſe men, from whom ſurely hee might have expected another reward then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whoſe hearts with them were divided from their King.

Nor is it ſtrange that they, who emploied them at firſt in ſo high a ſervice, and ſo ſucceſsful to them, ſhould not finde mercie enough to forgive Him, who had ſo much premerited of them: For Apoſtacie unto Loyaltie

altie ſom men account the moſt unpardonable ſin.

Nor did a ſolitarie vengeance ſerv the turn; the cutting off one head in a Familie is not enough to expiate the affront don to the Head of the Common-weal. The eldeſt Son muſt bee involved in the puniſhment, as hee was infected with the ſin of the Father, againſt the Father of his Countrie: Root and Branch God cut's off in one daie.

Theſe obſervations are obvious to everie fancie: God know's I was ſo far from rejoicing in *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were ſuch as was able to give the greateſt thirſt for revenge a full draught, beeing executed by them who firſt emploied him againſt Mee) that I ſo far pitied him as I thought hee at firſt acted more againſt the light of his Conſcience, then I hope other men do in the ſame Cauſ.

For hee was never thought to bee of that ſuperſtitious ſowrneſs, which ſom men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which ſo darken's their judgment that they cannot ſee anie thing of Sin and Rebellion in thoſe means they uſe with intents to reform to their Models what they call Religion, who think all is gold of pietie, which doth but gliſter with a ſhew of zeal and fervencie.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another

other temper, and ſo moſt liable to thoſe down-right temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impoſe upon themſelvs or others.

That which make's Mee more pittie him, is, that, after hee began to have ſom inclinations towards a repentance for his ſin, and reparation of his dutie to Mee, hee ſhould bee ſo unhappie as to fall into the hands of their Juſtice, and not My Mercie, who could as willingly have forgiv'n him, as hee could have asked that favor of Mee.

For I think clemencie a debt, which wee ought to paie to thoſe that crave it, when wee have cauſ to believ they would not after abuſe it; ſince God himſelf ſuffer's us not to paie anie thing for his mercie but onely praiers and praiſes.

Poor Gentleman, hee is now becom a noteable monument of unproſperous Diſloyaltie; teaching the world by ſo ſad and unfortunate a ſpectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Sovereign carrie's alwaies its own vengeance, as an unſeperable ſhadow with it; and thoſe oft proov the moſt fatal and implacable Executioners of it, who were the firſt Imploiers in the ſervice.

After-times will diſpute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-Hill*, though

though 'tis certain that no puniſhment ſo ſtain's a man's Honor, as wilful perpetrations of unworthie actions; which, beſides the conſcience of the ſin, brand's, with moſt indelible characters of infamie, the name and memorie to poſteritie; who, not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the moſt impartial reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who haſt in ſo remarkable a waie avenged thy Servant, ſuffer Mee not to take anie ſecret pleaſure in it; as his death hath ſatisfied the injurie hee did to Mee, ſo let Mee not by it gratifie anie paſſion in Mee, leſt I make thy vengeance to bee Mine, and conſider the affront againſt Mee, more then the ſin againſt thee.

Thou indeed, without anie deſire or endevor of Mine, haſt made his miſchief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to com down on his own pate.

Thou haſt pleaded My Cauſ, even before the ſons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands; that men may know it was thy work, and ſee that thou, Lord, haſt don it.

I do not, I dare not ſaie, So let Mine enemies periſh, O Lord; yea, Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunitie, if it bee thy bleſſed will.

Let not thy Juſtice prevent the objects and opportunities of My Mercie; yea, let them live and a-

mend

amend who have most offended Mee in so high nature; that I may have those to forgive, who bea most proportion in their offences to those trespasse against thy Majestie, which, I hope, thy mercie hath forgiv'n Mee.

Lord laie not their sins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their conscience for amendment: Let the lightning of this thunder bolt, which hath been so severe a punishment to one, bee a terror to all.

Discover to them their sin, who know not they have don amiss, and scare them from their sin, that sin of malitious wickedness.

That, preventing thy judgments by their true repentance, they may escape the stroaks of thine eternal vengeance.

And do thou, O Lord, establish the Throne of thy servant in mercie and truth, meeting together; let My Crown ever flouriſh in righteousness and peace, kissing each other.

Hear My praier, O Lord, who hast taught us to praie for, to do good to, and to love our enemies, for thy sake; who hath prevented us with offertures of thy love, even when wee were thine enemies; and hast sent thy Son Jesus Christ to die for us, when wee were disposed to crucifie him.

9. Upon

9. Upon the listing, and raising Armies against the KING.

I Finde that I am at the same point and posture I was, when they forced Mee to leav *WhiteHall*: what Tumults could not do, an Armie must; which is but Tumults listed, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My recess hath given them confidence that I may bee conquered.

And so I easily may as to anie outward strength, which, God know's, is little or none at all; But I have a Soul invincible, through God's grace enabling Mee: here I am sure to bee Conqueror, if God will give Mee such a measure of Constancie, as to fear him more then man; and to love the inward peace of My Conscience, before anie outward tranquillitie.

And must I bee opposed with force, becaus they have not reason wherewith to convince Mee? O My Soul! bee of good courage; they confess their known weakness, as to truth and Justice, who chose rather to contend by Armies, then by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receiv for those manie Acts of Grace I have lately passed; and for those manie Indignities

ties I have endured? Is there no waie left to make Mee a glorious KING, but by My sufferings?

It is a hard and disputable choice for a King that love's his People, and desire's their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to bee killed by them.

Are the hazards and miseries of Civil War, in the bowels of My most flourishing Kingdom, the fruits I must now reap after seventeen years liveing and reigning among them, with such a measure of Justice, Peace, Plentie, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired or envied? Notwithstanding som miscarriages in Government, which might escape, rather through ill counsel of som men driveing on their private ends, or the peevishness of others envying the publick should bee managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of State, then anie propensitie, I hope, of My self, either to injuriousness or oppression.

Whose innocent blood dureing My Reign have I shed, to satisfie My lust, anger, or covetousness? What Widow's or Orphan's tears can witness against Mee, the just crie of which must now bee avenged with My own blood? For the hazards of War are equal, nor doth the Cannon know anie respect of Persons.

In

In vain is My Person excepted by a Parenthesis of words, when so manie hands are armed against Mee with Swords.

God know's how much I have studied to see what ground of Justice is alledged for this War against Mee; that so I might (by giveing just satisfaction) either prevent, or soon end so unnatural a motion, which (to manie men) seem's rather the production of a surfeit of Peace, and wantonness of mindes, or of private discontents, Ambition and Faction (which easily finde, or make causses of quarrel) then anie real obstruction of Publick Justice, or Parliamentarie Priviledg.

But this is pretended, and this I must bee able to avoid and answer before God in My own Conscience, however som men are not willing to beleev Mee, lest they should condemn themselvs.

When I first with-drew from *White-hall*, to see if I could allaie the insolencie of the Tumults, of the not suppressing of which no account in Reason can bee giv'n, (where an orderlie Guard was granted but onely to oppress both Mine and the Two Houses freedom of Declareing and Voteing according to everie man's Conscience) what obstructions of Justice were there further then this,

that

that what ſeemed juſt to one man, might not ſeem ſo to another ?

Whom did I by power protect againſt the Juſtice of *Parliament* ?

That ſom men withdrew, who feared the partialitie of their trial, (warned by My Lord of *Strafford's* death) while the vulgar threatned to bee their Oppreſſors, and Judgers of their Judges, was from that inſtinct, which is in all creatures, to preſerv themſelvs. If anie others refuſed to appear, where they evidently ſaw the current of Juſtice and Freedom ſo ſtopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawful Judges either durſt not com to the Houſes, or not declare their ſenſ with libertie and ſafetie, it cannot ſeem ſtrange to anie reaſonable man, when the ſole expoſing them to the publick *odium* was enough to ruine them, before their Cauſ could bee heard or tried.

Had not factious Tumults overborn the Freedom and Honor of the two Houſes; had they aſſerted their Juſtice againſt them, and made the waie open for all the Members quietly to com and declare their Conſciences, I know no man ſo dear to Mee, whom I had the leaſt inclination to adviſe either to withdraw himſelf, or denie appearing, upon their Summons; to whoſe Sentence according

ding to Law (I think) everie Subject bound to ſtand.

Diſtempers (indeed) were riſen to ſo great a height, for want of timelie repreſſing the vulgar inſolencies, that the greateſt guilt of thoſe which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not ſuffer themſelvs to bee over-aw'd with the Tumults and their Patrons; nor compelled to abet by their ſuffrages or preſence, the deſigns of thoſe men who agitated innovations, and ruine both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approov their generous conſtancie and cautiouſneſs; further then this I did never allow anie man's refractorineſs againſt the Priviledges & Orders of the Houſes; to whom I wiſhed nothing more, then Safetie, Fulneſs, and Freedom.

But the truth is, ſom men, and thoſe not manie, deſpairing in fair and Parliamentarie waies, by free deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the Major part of Lords and Commons, betook themſelvs by the deſperate activitie of factious Tumults to ſift and terrifie away all thoſe Members whom they ſaw to bee of contrarie mindes to their purpoſes.

How oft was the buſineſs of the Biſhops enjoying their Antient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the Houſ of Peers, carried

for

for them by far the Major part of Lords
Yet after five repulſes, contrarie to all Order
and Cuſtom, it was by tumultuarie inſtigati-
ons obtruded again, and by a few carried,
when moſt of the Peers were forced to abſent
themſelvs.

In like manner was the *Bill* againſt Root
and Branch brought on by tumultuarie Cla-
mors, aud ſchiſmatical Terrors; which could
never paſs, till both Houſes were ſufficiently
thinned and over-awed.

To which Partialitie, while in all Reaſon,
Juſtice, and Religion, My conſcience for-
bid's Mee by conſenting to make up their
Votes to Acts of Parliament, I muſt now bee
urged with an Armie, and conſtrained either
to hazard My Own, and My Kingdom's ru-
ine, by My Defence; or proſtrate My Con-
ſcience to the blinde obedience of thoſe men,
whoſe zealous ſuperſtition think's or pre-
tend's, they cannot do God and the Church
no greater ſervice, then utterly to deſtroie
that Primitive, Apoſtolical, and antiently-
Univerſal Government of the Church by
Biſhops.

Which if other men's Judgments binde
them to maintain, or forbid them to conſent
to the aboliſhing of, Mine much more;
who, beſides the grounds I have in My Judg-
ment, have alſo a moſt ſtrict and indiſpen-
ſable

ſable Oath upon My Conſcience, to preſerv
that Order, and the Rights of the Church;
to which moſt Sacrilegious and abhorred
Perjurie, moſt un-beſeeming a Chriſtian
King, ſhould I ever by giving My Conſent
bee betraied, I ſhould account it infinitely-
greater miſerie, then anie hath, or can befal
Mee; inaſmuch as the leaſt ſin hath more evil
in it then the greateſt affliction. Had I grati-
fied their Anti-Epiſcopal Faction at firſt in
this point, with My Conſent, and ſacrificed
the Eccleſiaſtical Government, and Reve-
nues to the furie of their Covetouſneſs, Am-
bition, and Revenge, I believ they would
then have found no colorable neceſſitie of
raiſing an Armie to fetch in and puniſh De-
linquents.

That I conſented to the *Bill* of putting the
Biſhops out of the Houſ of Peers, was don
with a firm perſwaſion of their contentedneſs
to ſuffer a preſent diminution in their Rights,
and Honor, for My ſake, and the Common-
weal's; which I was confident they would
readily yield unto, rather then occaſion (by
the leaſt obſtruction on their part) anie dan-
gers to Mee, or to My Kingdom. That I can-
not add My Conſent to the total Extirpation
of that Government (which I have often of-
fered to all fit regulations) hath ſo much fur-
ther tie upon My Conſcience, as what I think

Religious and Apoſtolical (and ſo verie Sacred and Divine) as not to bee diſpenſed with, or deſtroied; when what is onely of civil Favor, and Priviledg of Honor granted to men of that Order, may with their conſent, who are concerned in it, bee annulled.

This is the true ſtate of thoſe obſtructions pretended to bee in point of Juſtice and Autoritie of Parliament; when, I call God to witneſs, I knew none of ſuch conſequence as was worth ſpeaking of to make a War; beeing onely ſuch as Juſtice, Reaſon, and Religion had made in My Own and other men's Conſciences.

Afterwards indeed a great ſhew of Delinquents was made; which were but conſequences neceſſarily following upon Mine, or other's with-drawing from, or defence againſt violence; but thoſe could not bee the firſt occaſion of raiſing an Armie againſt Mee. Wherein I was ſo far from preventing them, (as they have declared often) that they might ſeem to have the advantage and Juſtice of the defenſive part, and load Mee with all the envie and injuries of firſt aſſaulting them, when as, God know's, I had not ſo much as anie hopes of an Armie in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honorably and effectually repreſſed by exemplarie Juſtice, and the Libertie of the Houſes ſo vindicated, that all Members

Members of either Houſ might with Honor and Freedom, becomming ſuch a Senate, have com'n & diſcharged their Conſciences, I had obtained all that I deſigned by My with-drawing; and had much more willingly, and ſpeedily returned then I retired; this beeing My neceſſitie driveing, the other My choice deſireing.

But ſom men knew I was like to bring the ſame judgment and conſtancie, which I carried with Mee, which would never fit their deſigns: and ſo while they invited Mee to com, and grievouſly complained of My abſence, yet they could not but bee pleaſed with it: eſpecially when they had found out that plauſible and popular pretext of raiſing an Armie to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never puniſhed the greateſt and moſt intolerable Delinquencie of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave My ſelf, and ſo manie of both Houſes from their places, by moſt barbarous indignities, which yet, in all Reaſon and Honor, they were as loth to have deſerted, as thoſe others were willing they ſhould, that ſo they might have occaſion to perſecute them with the injuries of an Armie, for not ſuffering more tamely the injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true ſtate, and firſt drift and deſign in raiſing an Armie againſt Mee, is by

the ſequel ſo evident, that all other pretenſes vaniſh. For, when they declared by Propoſitions or Treaties, what they would have to appeaſ them, there was nothing of conſequence offered to Mee, or demanded of Mee, as anie original difference in anie point of Law, or order of Juſtice. But, among other leſſer Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Epiſcopal, and the Eſtabliſhment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things, at anie time propounded, were either impertinent, as to anie ground of a War, or eaſily granted by Mee, and onely to make up a number; or elſ they were meerly conſequential, and acceſſarie, after the war was by them unjuſtly begun.

I cannot hinder other men's thoughts, whom the noiſ and ſhew of pietie, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might eaſily ſo fill with prejudice, that all equalitie and clearneſs of judgment might bee obſtructed. But this was, and is, as to My beſt obſervation, the true ſtate of affairs between us, when they firſt raiſed an Armie, with this deſign, either to ſtop My mouth, or to force My conſent: and in this truth, as to My conſcience, (who was (God know's) as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eie of the world from having anie preparations for one) I finde that comfort, that in the mid'ſt of all the unfortunate

tunate ſucceſſes of this War on My ſide, I do not think My Innocencie anie whit prejudiced or darkned; Nor am I without that Integritie, and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to addreſs My Praier to Him.

For Thou, O Lord, ſee'ſt clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgeſt without prejudice: Thy Omniſcience eternally guide's thy unerrable Judgment.

O My God, the proud are riſen againſt Mee, and the aſſemblies of violent men have ſought after My ſoul, and have not ſet Thee before their eies.

Conſider My enemies, O Lord, for they are manie, and they hate Mee with a deadlie hatred without a cauſ.

For Thou knoweſt, I had no paſſion, deſign, or preparation to embroil My Kingdoms in a Civil War; whereto I had leaſt temptation, as knowing I muſt adventure more then anie, and could gain leaſt of anie by it.

Thou, O Lord, art My witneſs, how oft I have deplored, and ſtudied to divert the neceſſitie thereof, wherein I cannot well bee thought ſo prodigally thirſtie of My Subject's blood, as to venture My own Life, which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappie War; and which were better ſpent to ſave, then to deſtroie My People.

O Lord, I need much of thy Grace, with patience to bear the manie afflictions thou hast ſuffered ſom men to bring upon Mee; but much more to bear the unjuſt reproaches of thoſe, who, not content that I ſuffer moſt by War, will needs perſwade the world that I have raiſed firſt, or giv'n juſt Cauſ to raiſ it.

The Confidence of ſom men's falſ Tongues is ſuch, that they would almoſt make Mee ſuſpect My own Innocencie: Yea, I could bee content (at leaſt by My ſilence) to take upon Mee ſo great a guilt before men, if by that I might allaie the malice of My Enemies, and redeem My People from this miſerable War, ſince thou, O Lord, knowcſt My Innocencie in this thing.

Thou wilt finde out bloodie and deceitful men; manie of whom have not lived out half their daies, in which they promiſed themſelvs the enjoiment of the fruits of their violence and wicked Counſels.

Save, O Lord, thy Servant, as hitherto thou haſt, and in thy due time ſcatter the People that delight in War.

Ariſe, O Lord, liſt up thy ſelf, becauſ of the rage of Mine Enemies, which increaſeth more and more. Behold them that have conceived miſchief, travelled with iniquitie, and brought forth falſhood.

Thou knoweſt the chief deſign of this War is, either to deſtroie My Perſon, or force My Judgment,

ment, and to make Mee renege My Conſcience and thy Truth.

I am driv'n to croſs David's *choice and deſire, rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though their Mercies bee cruel) then into thy hands by ſinning againſt My Conſcience, and in that againſt thee, who art a conſuming fire: Better they deſtroie Mee, then thou ſhould'ſt damn Mee.*

Bee thou ever the defenſ of My Soul, who wilt ſave the upright in heart.

If nothing but My blood will ſatisfie My Enemies, or quench the flames of My Kingdoms, or thy Temporal Juſtice, I am content, if it bee thy will, that it bee ſhed by Mine own Subject's hands.

But, O let the blood of Mee, though their King, yet a ſinner, bee waſhed with the blood of My Innocent and Peace-makeing Redeemer; for in that thy Juſtice will finde not onely a temporarie expiation, but an eternal-plenarie ſatisfaction; both for My ſins, and the ſins of My People: whom I beſeech thee ſtill own for thine; and, when thy wrath is appeaſed by My Death, O Remember thy great Mercies toward them, and forgive them, O My Father, for they know not what they do.

10. *Upon their ſeazing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navie, and* Militia.

HOw untruly I am charged with the firſt raiſing of an Armie and beginning this Civil war, the eies, that onely pittie Mee, and the Loyal hearts that durſt onely praie for Mee at firſt, might witneſs, which yet appear not ſo manie on My ſide, as there were men in Arms liſted againſt Mee; My unpreparedneſs for a war may well diſ-hearten thoſe that would help Mee; while it argue's (truly) My unwillingneſs to fight; yet it teſtifie's for Mee, that I am ſet on the defenſive part; having ſo little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend My ſelf, or to preſerv what is Mine own from their prereption.

No man can doubt but they prevented Mee in their purpoſes, as well as their injuries, who are ſo much before-hand in their preparations againſt Mee, and ſurprizals of My ſtrength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not bee for Mee; ſo over-aw'd is their Loyaltie by the other's numbers and terrors. I believ My Innocencie, and unpreparedneſs to aſſert My Rights and Honor make's Mee the more guiltie in their eſteem; who would not ſo

ſo eaſily have declared a War againſt Mee, if I had firſt aſſaulted them.

They knew My chiefeſt Arms left Me, were thoſe onely, which the Ancient Chriſtians were wont to uſe againſt their Perſecutors, Praiers and Tears. Theſe may ſerv a good man's turn, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to ſuffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Mee, and ſurprizing My Caſtles, Forts, Arms, and Navie, with the *Militia*, is ſo far beſt for Mee, That it may drive Mee from putting anie truſt in the arm of fleſh, and wholly to caſt My ſelf into the protection of the liveing God, who can ſave by few, or none, as well as by manie.

Hee that made the greedie Ravens to bee *Elias's* Caterers, and bring him food, may alſo make their ſurprizal of outward force and defenſ an opportunitie to ſhew Mee the ſpecial ſupport of his power and protection.

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the *Militia* ſo much in reference to My own protections as My People's.

Their manie and ſore oppreſſions griev Mee; I am above My own; what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Praier.

But this is the ſtrange method theſe men will needs take to reſolv their riddle of

Makeing

Makeing Mee a glorious King, by takeing away My Kinglie power: Thus I shall becom a support to My Friends, and a Terror to My Enemies, beeing unable to succour the one, or suppress the other.

For thus have they designed and proposed to Mee, the new modelling of Sovereigntie and Kingship, so, without anie realitie of power, or without anie necessitie of subjection and obedience; That the Majestie of the Kings of *England* might hereafter hang like *Mahomet's* Tomb, by a Magnetick Charm, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houses, in an aierie imagination of Regalitie.

But I believ the surfeit of too much Power, which som men have greedily seazed on, and now seek wholly to devour, will, ere long, make the Common-wealth sick both of it and them, since they cannot well digest it; Sovereign Power in Subjects seldom agreeing with the Stomachs of fellow-Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the constant *Militia* sought, by satisfying their fears and importunities, both to secure My friends, and overcom Mine enemies; to gain the Peace of all, by depriveing My self of a sole power to help, or hurt anie: yeelding the *Militia* (which is My undoubted Right no less then the Crown) to bee disposed of as the two

two Houses shall think fit, dureing My time.

So willing am I to burie all Jealousies in them of Mee; and to live above all Jealousies of them, as to My self; I desire not to bee safer then I wish them and My People: If I had the sole actual disposeing of the *Militia*, I could not protect My People, further then they protected Mee, and themselvs: so that the use of the *Militia* is mutual. I would but defend My self so far, as to bee able to defend My good Subjects from those men's violence and fraud, who, conscious to their own evil merits and designs, will needs perswade the world, that none but Wolvs are fit to bee trusted with the custodie of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miserable experience hath taught My Subjects, since power hath been wrested from Mee, and emploied against Mee and them, that neither can bee safe if both bee not in such a waie, as the Law hath entrusted the publick safetie and welfare.

Yet even this Concession of Mine as to the exercise of the *Militia*, so vast and large, is not satisfactorie to som men, which seem to bee Enemies not to Mee onely, but to all Monarchie; and are resolved to transmit to Posteritie such Jealousies of the Crown, as they should never permit it to enjoie it's just and necessarie Rights, in point of Power; to which

which (at last) all Law is resolved, while thereby it is best protected.

But here Honor and Justice, due to My Successors, forbid Mee to yeild to such a total alienation of that power from them, which civilitie and dutie (no less then Justice and Honor) should have forbad them to have asked of Mee.

For, although I can bee content to Eclipse My own beams to satisfie their fears; who think they must needs bee scorched or blinded, if I should shine in the full lustre of Kinglie Power, wherewith God and the Laws have invested Mee; yet I will never consent to put out the Sun of Sovereigntie to all Posteritie, and succeeding Kings; whose just recoverie of their Rights, from unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never bee prejudiced or obstructed by anie Act of Mine; which indeed would not bee more injurious to succeeding Kings, then to My Subjects; whom I desire to leav in a condition not wholly desperate for the future; so as by a Law to bee ever subjected to those manie factious distractions, which must needs follow the manie-headed *Hydra* of Government: which, as it make's a shew to the people to have more eies to foresee; so they will finde, it hath more mouths, too, which must bee satisfied: and (at best) it hath rather a monstrositie,

strositie, then anie thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchie: where counsel may bee in manie as the senses, but the Supreme Power can bee but in One as the Head.

Happily when men have tried the horrors and malignant influence which will certainly follow My enforced darkness and Eclipse, (occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that bodie, which as the Moon receiveth it's chiefest light from Mee) they will at length more esteem and welcom the restored glorie and blessing of the Sun's light.

And if at present I may seem by My receding so much from the use of My Rights in the Power of the *Militia* to com short of the discharge of that trust to which I am sworn for My People's protection; I conceiv those men are guiltie of the enforced perjurie, (if so it may seem) who compel Mee to take this new and strange waie of discharging My trust, by seeming to desert it; or protecting My Subjects by exposing My self to danger or dishonor, for their safetie and quiet.

Which in the Conflicts of Civil war and advantages of Power cannot bee effected but by som side yielding; to which the greatest love of the publick Peace, and the firmest assurance of God's protection (arising from a good

good conſcience) doth more invite Mee, then can bee expected from other men's fears; which, ariſeing from the injuſtice of their actions (though never ſo ſucceſsful) yet dare not adventure their Autors upon anie other waie of ſafetie, then that of the Sword and *Militia*; which yet are but weak defenſes againſt the ſtroaks of divine vengeance, which will over-take; or of men's own Conſciences, which alwaies attend injurious perpetrations.

For My ſelf, I do not think that I can want anie thing which Providential Neceſſitie is pleaſed to take from Mee, in order to My People's tranquillitie, and God's glorie whoſe protection is ſufficient for Mee; and hee is able, by his beeing with Mee, abundantly to compenſate to Mee, as hee did to *Job*, whatever honor, power, or libertie the *Chaldeans*, the *Sabeans*, or the Devil himſelf can deprive Mee of.

Although they take from Mee all defen of Arms and *Militia*; all refuge, by Land, o Forts, and Caſtles; all flight, by Sea, in M Ships and Navie; yea, though they ſtudie t rob Mee of the Hearts of My Subjects, th greateſt Treaſure and beſt Ammunition of King; yet cannot they deprive Mee of M own Innocencie, or God's Mercie, nor ob ſtruct My waie to Heaven.

Therefor

Therefore, O My God, to thee I flie for help; if thou wilt bee on My ſide, I ſhall have more with Mee then can bee againſt Mee.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I deſire in compariſon of thee: In the loſs of all, bee thou more then all to Mee: Make haſte to ſuccour Mee, thou that never faileſt them that put their truſt in thee.

Thou ſee'ſt I have no power to oppoſe them that com againſt Mee, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for Mee: But My eies are toward thee.

Thou needeſt no help; nor ſhall I, if I may have thine; if not to conquer, yet at leaſt to ſuffer.

If thou delightest not in My ſafetie and proſperitie, behold here I am willing to bee reduced to what thou wilt have Mee; whoſe Judgments oft begin with thine own Children.

I am content to bee nothing, that thou mai'ſt bee all.

Thou haſt taught Mee, That no King can bee ſaved by the multitude of an Hoſt; but yet thou canſt ſave Mee by the multitude of thy Mercies, who art the Lord of Hoſts, and the Father of Mercies.

Help Mee, O Lord, who am ſore diſtreſſed on everie ſide; yet bee thou on My ſide, and I ſhall not fear what man can do unto Mee.

I will give thy Juſtice the glorie of My Diſtreſs.

O Let thy mercie have the glorie of My deliverance from them that persecute My Soul.

By My sins have I fought against thee, and robbed thee of thy glorie, who am thy Subject, and justly maïst thou by My own subjects, strip Mee of My strength, and eclipse My glorie.

But shew thy self, O My hope, and onelie refuge! Let not Mine enemies saie, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up My goings in thy paths, that My footsteps slip not.

Keep Mee as the apple of thine eie, hide Mee under the shadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindeness, O thou that savest by thy right hand them that put their trust in thee, from those that rise up against them;

From the wicked that oppress Mee, from My deadlie enemies that compass Mee about.

Shew Mee the path of life. In thy presence is fulness of joie; at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

II. *Upon the 19. Propositions first sent to the* KING; *and more afterwards.*

ALthough there bee manie things, they demand; yet, if these be all, I am glad to see at what price they set My own safetie, and

and My People's peace; which I cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, save onely the parting with my Conscience and Honor. If nothing elf will satisfie, I must chuse rather to bee as miserable and inglorious, as My enemies can make or wish Mee.

Som things here propounded to Mee, have been offered by Mee; Others are easily granted; the rest (I think) ought not to bee obtruded upon Mee, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of a War; when I have already declared that I cannot yeeld to them, without violating My Conscience: 'tis strange, there can bee no method of peace, but by making war upon My soul.

Here are manie things required of Mee, but I see nothing offer'd to Mee, by the waie of grateful exchange of Honor; or anie requital for those favors, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honor they do Mee, to put Mee on the giving part, which is more Princelie and divine. They cannot ask more then I can give, may I but reserv to My self the Incommunicable Jewel of My Conscience; and not bee forced to part with that, whose loss nothing can repair or requite.

Som things (which they are pleased to propound) seem unreasonable to Mee, and while I have anie Masterie of My reason, how can

they think I can consent to them: Who know they are such as are inconsistent with beeing either a King, or a good Christian. My yeelding so much (as I have already) make's som men confident I will denie nothing.

The love I have of My People's peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon Mee; but the love of Truth and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant som things they require, I should not so much weaken my outward state of a King, as wound that inward quiet of My Conscience; which ought to bee, is, and ever shall bee (by God's grace) dearer to Mee then My Kingdoms.

Som things which a King might approov, yet in Honor and Policie are at som time to bee denied, to som men, lest hee should seem not to dare to denie anie thing; and give too much encouragement to unreasonable demands or importunities.

But to binde My self to a general and implicite consent, to what ever they shall desire, or propound, (for such is one of their Propositions) were such a latitude of blinde obedience, as never was expected from anie Free-man; nor fit to bee required of anie man, much less of a King by his own Subjects: anie of whom hee may possibly exceed as much in wisdom, as hee doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampson* should have consented

ted, not onely to binde his own hands, and cut off his own hair, but to put out his own eies, that the *Philistins* might with the more safetie mock and abuse him; which they chose rather to do, then quite to destroie him, when hee was becom so tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denial, seem's an arrogancie, least of all becomming those who pretend to make their addresses in an humble and loyal waie of Petitioning; who by that sufficiently confess their own inferioritie, which obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted with such an answer as the will and reason of their Superior think's fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of Reason to Consent, or Dissent; elf it were verie fooliish and absurd to ask, what another, having not libertie to denie, neither hath power to grant.

But if this bee My Right belonging to Mee, in Reason, as a Man, and in Honor, as a Sovereign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it bee other then extream injurie to confine My Reason to a necessitie of granting all they have a minde to ask? whose mindes may bee as differing from Mine both in Reason and Honor, as their aims may bee, and their qualities are; which last God and the Laws have sufficiently distinguish't, ma-

king Mee their Sovereign, and them my Subjects: whose Propositions may soon proov violent oppositions, if once they gain to bee necessarie impositions upon the Regal Autoritie. Since no man seek's to limit and confine his King, in Reason, who hath not a secret aim to share with him, or usurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have Mee trust to their moderation, and abandon mine own discretion; that so I might verifie what representations som have made of Me to the world, that I am fitter to bee their Pupil then their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of Mine own sufficiencie, as not willingly to admit the Counsel of others: But yet I am not so diffident of My self, as brutishly to submit to anie men's dictates, and at once to betraie the Sovereigntie of Reason in My Soul, and the Majestie of My own Crown to anie of My Subjects.

Least of all have I anie ground of credulitie to induce Mee fully to submit to all the desires of those men, who will not admit or do refuse and neglect to vindicate the freedom of their own and other's sitting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men, that know them, know this, how young States-men (the most part) of these propounders are; so that, till experience

rience of one seven years hath shewed Mee, how well they can Govern themselvs, and so much power as is wrested from Mee, I should bee verie fooliish indeed, and unfaithful in My Trust, to put the reins of both Reason and Government, wholly out of My own, into their hands; whose driving is already too much like *Jehu's*; and whose forwardness to asscend the Throne of Supremacie portends more of *Phaëton* then of *Phœbus:* God divert the *Omen,* if it bee his will.

They may remember, that, at best, they sit in Parliament, as My Subjects, not My Superiors; called to bee My Counsellors, not Dictators: Their Summons extend's to recommend their advice, not to command My Dutie.

When I first heard of Propositions to bee sent Mee, I expected either som good Laws, which had been antiquated by the cours of time, or overlai'd by the corruption of manners, had been desired to a restauration of their vigor and due execution; or som evil customs preter-legal, and abuses personal had been to be removed: or som injuries don by My self, and others, to the Common-weal, were to bee repaired; or som equable offertures were to bee tendred to Mee, wherein the advantages of My Crown, beeing considered by them, might fairly induce

Mee to condeſcend, to what tended to My Subject's good, without anie great diminution of My ſelf, whom Nature, Law, Reaſon, and Religion, binde Mee (in the firſt place) to preſerv: without which 'tis impoſſible to preſerv My People according to My Place.

Or (at leaſt) I looked for ſuch moderate deſires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amiſs in Church and State, as might ſtill preſerv the foundation and eſſentials of Government in both; not ſhake and quite overthrow either of them, without anie regard to the Laws in force, the wiſdom and pietie of former Parliaments, the antient and univerſal practice of Chriſtian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet anie thing offered in lieu, or in the room of what muſt bee deſtroied, which might at once reach the good end of the other's Inſtitution, and alſo ſupplie its pretended defects, reform its abuſes, and ſatisfie ſober and wiſe men; not with ſoft and ſpecious words, pretending zeal and ſpecial pietie, but with pregnant and ſolid reaſons both divine and humane, which might juſtifie the abruptneſs and neceſſitie of ſuch vaſt alterations.

But in all their Propoſitions I can obſerv little of theſe kindes, or to theſe ends: Nothing

thing of anie Laws diſ-jointed, which are to bee reſtored; of anie right invaded; of anie juſtice to bee un-obſtructed; of anie compenſations to bee made; of anie impartial Reformation to bee granted; to all, or anie of which, Reaſon, Religion, true Policie, or anie other humane motives might induce Mee.

But, as to the main matters propounded by them at anie time, in which is either great noveltie, or difficultie, I perceiv that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and Schiſms in the Church, and ſo puniſhable by the Laws, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamors, and aſſiſtance (chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themſelvs, in their vanitie, noveltie, and confuſion; but alſo Abolition of the Laws againſt them; and a total extirpation of that Govetnment, whoſe Rights they have a minde to invade.

This, as to the main: other Propoſitions are (for the moſt part) but as waſte paper, in which thoſe are wrapped up, to preſent them ſomwhat more handſomly.

Nor do I ſo much wonder at the varietie, and horrible noveltie of ſom Propoſitions (there beeing nothing ſo monſtrous, which ſom fancies are not prone to long for.)

This caſt's Me into, not an Admiration, but, an Extaſie, how ſuch things ſhould have the

fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am verie confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either Houſ, whoſe judgments free, ſingle and apart did approov or deſire ſuch deſtructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perſwaded there remain's in far the Major part of both Houſes, (if free and full) ſo much Learning, Reaſon, Religion, and juſt Moderation, as to know how to ſever between the uſe and the abuſe of things; the inſtitution, and the corruption; the Government and the Miſ-government; the Primitive Pattern's and the aberrations or blottings of after-Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon ſo little or no Reaſon (as yet produced to the contrarie) ſo ſoon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to Antiquitie, to the Pietie of their reforming Progenitors, to the Proſperitie of former times in this Church and State, under the preſent Government of the Church.

Yet, by a ſtrange fatalitie, theſe men ſuffer, either by their abſence, or ſilence, or negligence, or ſupine credulitie (believing that all is Gold, which is guilded with ſhews of Zeal and Reformation) their private diſſenting in Judgment to bee drawn into the common

ſewer or ſtream of the preſent vogue and humor; which hath its chief riſe and abetment from thoſe popular clamors and Tumults, which ſerved to give life and ſtrength to the infinite Activitie of thoſe men, who ſtudied, with all diligence and policie, to improov to their Innovating deſigns, the preſent diſtractions.

Such Armies of Propoſitions having ſo little, in My judgment, of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion on their ſide, as they had Tumult and Faction for their riſe, muſt not go alone, but ever bee back't and ſeconded, with Armies of Souldiers: Though the ſecond ſhould prevail againſt My Perſon; yet the firſt ſhall never overcom Mee, further then I ſee cauſ: for I look not at their Number and Power ſo much, as I weigh their Reaſon and Juſtice.

Had the two Houſes firſt ſued out their liverie, and once effectually redeemed themſelvs from the Wardſhip of the Tumults; (which can bee no other then the Hounds that attend the crie and hollow of thoſe Men, who hunt after Factions, and private Deſigns, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My Judgment tell Mee, that the Propoſitions ſent to Mee were the Reſults of the Major part of their Votes, who exerciſe their freedom, as wel as they have a

right to sit in Parliament, I should then suspect My own judgment, for not speedily and fully concurring with everie one of them.

For I have charitie enough to think, there are wise men among them; and humilitie to think, that, as in som things I may want; so 'tis fit I should use their advise, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wisdom such a completeness and inerrabilitie as to exclude My self; since none of them hath that Part to Act, that Trust to discharge, nor that Estate and Honor to preserv, as My self; without whose Reason concurrent with their's (as the Sun's influence is necessarie in all nature's productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth anie one complete and autoritative Act of Publick wisdom, which make's the Laws.

But the unreasonableness of som Propositions is not more evident to Mee then this is, That they are not the joint and free desires of those in their Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For manie of them savor verie strong of that old leaven of Innovations masked under the name of Reformation; which, in My two last famous Predecessor's daies, heaved at, and somtimes threat'ned both Prince and Parliaments: But, I am sure, was never wont so far to infect the whole mass of the Nobilitie

litie and Gentrie of this Kingdom; however it dispersed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likelie so suddenly to taint the Major part of both Houses, as that they should unanimously desire, and affect so enormous and dangerous Innovations in Church and State, contrarie to their former education, practice, and judgment.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choise of manie Members was carried by much faction in the Countries; som thirsting after nothing more, then a passionate revenge of what ever displeasure they had conceived against Mee, My Court, or the Clergie.

But all Reason bid's Mee impute these sudden and vast desires of change to those few, who armed themselvs with the manie-headed, and manie-handed Tumults.

No less doth Reason, Honor, and Safetie both of Church and State command Mee, to chew such morsels, before I let them down; If the straitness of My Conscience will not give Mee leav to swallow down such Camels of Sacriledg and Injustice both to God and man, as others do; they have no more caus to quarrel with Mee, then for this, that My throat is not so wide as their's. Yet, by God's help, I am resolved, That nothing of Passion, or Peevishness, or List to contradict, or Vanitie to shew My Negative power, shall have

have anie biaſs upon My judgment, to ma
Mee gratifie My will, by denying anie thin
which My Reaſon and Conſcience co
mand's Mee not.

Nor on the other ſide, will I conſent
more then Reaſon, Juſtice, Honor, and R
ligion perſwade Mee, to bee for God's glor
the Churche's good, My People's welfa
and My own peace.

I will ſtudie to ſatisfie my Parliament a
My People; but I will never, for fear, or fla
terie, gratifie anie Faction, how potent ſ
ever; for this were to nouriſh the diſeaſ, an
oppreſs the bodie.

Although manie men's loyaltie and pr
dence are terrified from giving Mee th
free and faithful counſel, which they are abl
and willing to impart, and I may want; y
none can hinder Mee from craving of th
counſel of that mightie Counſellor, who ca
both ſuggeſt what is beſt, and incline M
heart ſtedfaſtly to follow it.

*O thou firſt and eternal Reaſon, whoſe wiſdo
is fortified with omnipotencie, furniſh thy Se
vant, firſt, with clear diſcoveries of Truth, Reaſo
and Juſtice, in My underſtanding: then ſo confirm
My will and reſolution to adhere to them, that n
terrors, injuries, or oppreſſions of My Enemies
may ever enforce Mee againſt thoſe rules, which
thou*

thou by them haſt planted in My Conſcience.

Thou never madeſt Mee a King, that I ſhould be leſs then a man; and not dare to ſaie, Yea, or Nay, as I ſee cauſ; which freedom is not denied to the meaneſt creature, that hath the uſe of Reaſon and libertie of ſpeech.

Shall that bee blameable in Mee, which is commendable veracitie and conſtancie in others?

Thou ſee'ſt, O Lord, with what partialitie and injuſtice they denie that freedom to Mee their KING, *which thou haſt giv'n to all Men; and which Themſelves pertinaciouſly challenge to themſelvs; while they are ſo tender of the leaſt breach of their priviledges.*

To Thee I make my ſupplication, who can'ſt guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other men's proposals; which, I have ſom cauſ to ſuſpect, are purpoſely cast as ſnares, that by My granting or denying them, I might bee more entangled in thoſe difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict Mee.

O Lord, make thy waie plain before Mee.

Let not My own ſinful paſſions cloud or divert thy ſacred ſuggeſtions:

Let thy glorie bee My end; thy word My rule; and then thy will be don.

I cannot pleaſ all, I care not to pleaſ ſom men; if I may bee happie to pleaſ thee, I need not fear whom I diſpleaſ.

Thou

Thou that makest the wisdom of the
foolishness, and takest in their own devices
as are wise in their own conceits, make Mee
by thy truth, for thy honor, My Kingdom's ge
al good, and My own soul's salvation, and I
not much regard the world's opinion or dim
tion of Mee.

The less wisdom they are willing to impu
Mee, the more they shall bee convinced of thy
dom directing Mee, while I denie nothing f
bee granted, out of crosness or humor; nor g
anie thing which is to bee denied, out of anie
or flatterie of men.

Suffer Mee not to bee guiltie or unhappie,
willing or inconsiderate advancing anie men's
signs, which are injurious to the publick g
while I confirm them by My consent.

Nor let Mee bee anie occasion to hinder w
fraud the publick of what is best, by anie mo
or perverse dissentings.

Make Mee so humbly charitable, as to soli
their advice, when it appear's to bee for publ
good; of whose affections to Mee I have yet but
evidences to assure Mee.

Thou canst as well bless honest errors, as bl
fraudulent counsels.

Since wee must give an account of everie e
and idle word in private at thy Tribunal; L
make Mee careful of those solemn Declaration
My minde, which are like to have the great
influe

influence upon the Publick, either for wo, or weal.

The less others consider what they ask, make Mee the more solicitous what I answer.

Though Mine own, and My people's pressures are grievous, and peace would bee verie pleasing; yet, Lord, never suffer Mee to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expens or waste of My Conscience; whereof thou, O Lord, onely art deservedly more Master then My self.

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12. Upon the Rebellion and troubles in Ireland.

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were so sudden, and so violent, that it was hard at first either to discern the rise, or applie a remedie to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that sea of blood, which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown anie man in eternal both infamie and miserie, whom God shall finde the malitious Autor or Instigator of its effusion.

It fell out as a most unhappie advantage to som men's malice against Mee; that when they had impudence enough to laie anie thing to My charge, this bloodie opportunitie should bee offered them, with which I must bee aspersed: Although there was nothing which

which could bee more abhorred to Mee, bee
ing ſo full of ſin againſt God, diſloyaltie t
My ſelf, and deſtructive to My Subjects.

Som men took it verie ill not to bee be
lieved, when they affirmed, that what th
Iriſh Rebels did, was don with My privitie
(at leaſt,) if not by My Commiſſion: Bu
theſe knew too well, that it is no news fo
ſom of My Subjects to fight, not onely with
out My Commiſſion, but againſt My Com
mand and Perſon too; yet all the while to
pretend, they fight by My Autoritie, and fo
My Safetie.

I would to God the Iriſh had nothing to
alledg for their imitation againſt thoſe
whoſe blame muſt needs bee the greater, by
how much Proteſtant-Principles are mor
againſt all Rebellion againſt Princes, ther
thoſe of Papiſts. Nor will the goodneſs o
men's intentions excuſe the ſcandal and con
tagion of their Examples.

But who ever fail of their Dutie toward
Mee, I muſt bear the blame; this Honor My
Enemies have alwaies don Mee, to think mo
derate injuries not proportionate to Mee, nor
competent trials, either of My patience under
them, or My pardon of them.

Therefore, with exquiſite malice, they
have mixed the gall and vinegar of falſitie
and contempt, with the cup of My Affliction;

Charging

Charging Mee not onely with untruths, but
ſuch, as wherein I have the greateſt ſhare of
loſs and diſhonor by what is committed;
whereby (in all Policie, Reaſon, and Religion,
having leaſt cauſ to give the leaſt conſent, and
moſt grounds of utter deteſtation) I might bee
repreſented by them to the world the more
inhumane and barbarous: Like ſom Cyclo-
pick monſter, whom nothing will ſerv to eat
and drink, but the fleſh and blood of My own
Subjects; in whoſe common welfare My in-
tereſt lie's as much as ſom men's doth in their
perturbations: who think they cannot do
well but in evil times; nor ſo cunningly as in
laying the *Odium* of thoſe ſad events on
others, wherewith themſelvs are moſt plea-
ſed, and whereof they have been not the leaſt
occaſion.

And, certainly, 'tis thought by manie wiſe
men, that the prepoſterous rigor and un-
reaſonable ſeveritie, which ſom men car-
ried before them in *England*, was not the
leaſt incentive that kindled and blew up in-
to thoſe horrid flames, the ſparks of diſ-
content, which wanted not pre-diſpoſed
fewel for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where, deſpair
beeing added to their former diſcontents, and
the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted
oppreſſions, it was eaſie to provoke, to an
open Rebellion, a people prone enough

to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by ſom Principles of their Religion, and the natural deſires of libertie; both to exempt themſelvs from their preſent reſtraints, and to prevent thoſe after-rigors, wherewith they ſaw themſelvs apparently threat'ned, by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable furie of ſom men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion to endure no other but their own.

God know's, as I can with Truth waſh My hands in Innocencie, as to anie guilt in that Rebellion; ſo I might waſh them in My Tears, as to the ſad apprehenſions I had, to ſee it ſpread ſo far, and make ſuch waſte. And this in a time, when diſtractions and jealouſies here in *England* made moſt men rather intent to their own ſafetie, or deſigns they were driving, then to the relief of thoſe, who were everie daie inhumanely butchered in *Ireland:* Whoſe tears and blood might, if nothing elſ, have quenched, or, at leaſt, for a time, repreſſed and ſmothered thoſe ſparks of Civil diſſentions and Jealouſies, which in *England* ſom men moſt induſtriouſly ſcattered.

I would to God no man had been leſs affected with *Ireland's* ſad eſtate then My ſelf; I offered to go My ſelf in Perſon upon that expedition; But ſom men were either afraid I ſhould

I ſhould have anie one Kingdom quieted; or loth they were to ſhoot at anie mark here leſs then My ſelf; or that anie ſhould have the glorie of My deſtruction, but themſelves. Had My manie offers been accepted, I am confident, neither the ruine had been ſo great; nor the calamitie ſo long; nor the remedie ſo deſperate.

So that, next to the ſin of thoſe, who began that Rebellion, their's muſt needs bee, who either hindered the ſpeedie ſuppreſſing of it by Domeſtick diſſenſions, or diverted the Aids, or exaſperated the Rebels to the moſt deſperate reſolutions and actions, by threat'ning all extremities, not onely to the known heads and chief incendiaries, but even to the whole communitie of that Nation; Reſolving to deſtroie Root and Branch, men, women, and children, without anie regard to thoſe uſual pleas for mercie, which Conquerers, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breaſts, in behalf of thoſe, whoſe oppreſſive fears, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whoſe imbecilitie for Sex and Age was ſuch, as they could neither lift up a hand againſt them, nor diſtinguiſh between their right hand and their left: Which prepoſterous, and (I think) un-evangelical Zeal is too like that of the rebuked Diſciples, who would go no lower in

their revenge, then to call for fire from Hea
ven upon whole Cities, for the repulſ or ne
glect of a few; or like that of *Jacob*'s ſons
which the Father both blamed and curſed
chuſing rather to uſe all extremities which
might drive men to deſperate obſtinacie, the
to applie moderate remedies; ſuch as might
puniſh ſom with exemplarie Juſtice, yet dis
arm others, with tenders of Mercie upon their
ſubmiſſion, and our protection of them from
the furie of thoſe, who would ſoon drown
them, if they refuſed to ſwim down the po
pular ſtream with them.

But ſom kinde of zeal count's all merciful
moderation, luke-warmneſs; and had rather
bee cruel, then counted cold; and is not ſeldom
more greedie to kill the Bear for his skin
then for anie harm hee hath don. The confi
ſcation of men's Eſtates beeing more bene
ficial, then the charitie of ſaving their Lives
or reforming their Errors.

When all proportionable ſuccours of the
poor Proteſtants in *Ireland* (who were daily
maſſacred and over-born with numbers of
now-deſperate Enemies) were diverted and
obſtructed here, I was earneſtly entreated and
generally adviſed, by the chief of the Prote
ſtant partie there, to get them ſom reſpite and
breathing by a Ceſſation; without which they
ſaw no probabilitie (unleſs by miracle) to pre
ſer

ſerv the remnant that had yet eſcaped: God
know's, with how much Commiſeration and
ſolicitous Caution I carried on that buſineſs,
by Perſons of Honor and Integritie; that ſo I
might neither encourage the Rebel's inſo-
lencie, nor diſcourage the Proteſtant's Loyal-
tie and Patience.

Yet, when this was effected in the beſt
ſort that the neceſſitie and difficultie of af-
fairs would then permit, I was then to ſuffer
again in My Reputation and Honor; becauſ I
ſuffered not the Rebels utterly to devour
the remaining handfuls of the Proteſtants
there.

I thought, that in all reaſon, the gaining of
that reſpite could not bee ſo much to the Re-
bel's advantages (which ſom have highly ca-
lumniated againſt Mee) as it might have
been for the Proteſtant's future, as well as
preſent ſafetie; if, during the time of that
Ceſſation, ſom men had had the grace to
have lai'd *Ireland*'s ſad condition more to
heart; and lai'd aſide thoſe violent motions
which were here carried on by thoſe, that
had better skill to let blood then to ſtanch
it.

But in all the miſ-conſtructions of My
actions, (which are prone to finde more cre-
dulitie in men to what is falſ and evil, then
love or charitie to what is true and good)

as I have no Judg but God above Mee, so I
can have comfort to appeal to his omni-
ſcience, who doth not therefore denie My
Innocence, becauſ he is pleaſed ſo far to tri
My patience, as he did his ſervant *Job's*.

I have enough to do to look to My own
Conſcience, and the faithful diſcharge of My
Truſt as a KING; I have ſcarce leiſure t
conſider thoſe ſwarms of reproaches, which
iſſue out of ſom men's mouths and hearts, a
eaſily as ſmoak or ſparks do out of a fornace
Much leſs to make ſuch prolix Apologies, a
might give thoſe men ſatisfaction: who, con
ſcious to their own depth of wickedneſs, ar
loth to believ anie man not to bee as bad a
themſelvs.

'Tis Kinglie to do well, and hear ill: If
can but act the one, I ſhall not much regard t
bear the other.

I thank God I can hear with patience, a
bad as my worſt enemies can falſly ſaie. And
I hope, I ſhall ſtill do better then they deſire
or deſerv I ſhould.

I believ it will at laſt appear, that they wh
firſt began to embroil My other Kingdoms
are in great part guiltie; if not of the firſt let-
ting out, yet of the not timelie ſtopping thoſe
horrid effuſions of blood in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever My enemies pleaſ to ſai
or think) I look upon, as that of My othe
King

Kingdoms, exhauſted out of My own veins;
no man beeing ſo much weak'hed by it, as
My ſelf: And, I hope, though men's unſati-
able cruelties never will, yet the mercie of
God will at length ſaie to his juſtice, *It is
enough*: and command the Sword of Civil
Warrs to ſheath it ſelf: His merciful juſtice
intending, I truſt, not our utter confuſion, but
our cure; the abatement of our ſins, not the
deſolating of theſe Nations.

*O my God, let thoſe infinite mercies prevent us
once again, which I and My Kingdoms have for-
merly abuſed, and can never deſerv ſhould bee
reſtored.*

*Thou ſee'ſt how much crueltie among Chriſtians
is acted under the color of Religion; as if wee
could not bee Chriſtians, unleſs wee crucifie one
another.*

*Becauſ wee have not more loved thy Truth, and
practiced in charitie; thou haſt ſuffered a ſpirit of
error and bitterneſs, of mutual and mortal ha-
tred to riſe among us.*

*O Lord, forgive wherein wee have ſinned; and
ſanctifie what we have ſuffered.*

*Let our Repentance bee our recoverie; as our great
ſins have been our ruine.*

*Let not the miſeries, I and my Kingdoms have
hitherto ſuffered, ſeem ſmall to thee: but make our
ſins appear to our conſciences, as they are repre-*

ſented in the glaſs of thy judgments; for thou ne-ver puniſheſt ſmall failings with ſo ſevere Af-flictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great Mercies, pardon our ſins, and remoov thy Fudgments which are verie manie and verie heavie.

Yet let our ſins bee ever more grievous to us, then thy Fudgments; and make us more willing to repent, then to bee relieved: firſt give us the Peace of penitent conſciences, and then the Tranquillitie of united Kingdoms.

In the ſea of our Saviour's blood drown our ſins; and, through this red ſea of our own blood, bring us at laſt to a ſtate of Pietie, Peace, and Plentie.

As My publick relations to all make Mee ſhare in all My Subject's ſufferings; ſo give Mee ſuch a pious ſenſ of them, as becom's a Chriſtian King, and a loving Father of My People.

Let the ſcandalous and unjuſt reproaches caſt upon Mee bee as a breath, more to kindle my com-paſsion; Give Mee grace to heap charitable coals of fire upon their heads to melt them, whoſe malice or cruel Zeal hath kindled or hindred the quench-ing of thoſe flames, which have ſo much waſted My three Kingdoms.

O reſcue and aſsiſt thoſe poor Proteſtants in Ire-land, *whom thou haſt hitherto preſerved:*

And lead thoſe in the waies of thy ſaving Truths, whoſe ignorance or errors have filled them

them with rebellious and deſtructive principles; which they act under an opinion, That they do *thee* good ſervice.

Let the hand of thy Fuſtice bee againſt thoſe, who malitiouſly and deſpitefully have raiſed or fomented thoſe cruel and deſperate Wars.

Thou that art far from deſtroying the Innocent with the Guiltie, and the Erroneous with the Ma-litious; Thou that had'ſt pittie on Nineveh *for the manie Children that were therein, give not over the whole ſtock of that populous and ſeduced Nati-on, to the wrath of thoſe, whoſe covetouſneſs make's them cruel; nor to their anger, which is too fierce; and therefore juſtly curſed.*

Preſerv, if it bee thy will, in the mid'ſt of the fornace of thy ſevere Fuſtice a Poſteritie which may praiſ thee for thy Mercie;

And deal with Mee, not according to man's un-juſt reproaches, but according to the innocencie of My hands in thy ſight.

If I have deſired or delighted in the woful daie of My Kingdom's calamities; if I have not ear-neſtly ſtudied and faithfully endeavoured the pre-venting and compoſing of theſe bloodie diſtracti-ons; then let thy hand bee againſt Mee, and My Father's houſ. O Lord, thou ſee'ſt I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, ſo I ſhould not dare thus to imprecate thy curſ on Mee and Mine, if My Conſcience did not witneſs My Integritie, which thou O Lord knoweſt right well; But I

truſt

truſt not to My own merit, but thy mercies; ſpare us, O Lord, and bee not angrie with us for ever.

13. *Upon the Calling in of the* Scots, *and their Comming.*

THe *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Sovereigntie, and Bountie, with My Father of bleſſed memorie; but alſo ſpecial and late obligations of favors, having gratified the active Spirits among them ſo far, that I ſeemed, to manie, to prefer the deſires of that Partie, before My own intereſt and Honor. But I ſee, Royall bountie embolden's ſom men to ask and act beyond all bounds of modeſtie and gratitude.

My charitie, and Act of Pacification forbid's Mee to reflect on former paſſages; wherein I ſhall ever bee far from letting anie man's ingratitude or inconſtancie make Mee repent of what I granted them for the publick good: I praie God it may ſo proov.

The comming again of that Partie into *England*, with an Armie, onely to conform this Church to their late New model, cannot but ſeem as unreaſonable, as they would have thought the ſame meaſure offered from hence to themſelvs.

Other

Other errand I could never underſtand they had, (beſides thoſe common and vulgar flouriſhes for Religion and Libertie) ſave onely to confirm the Presbyterian Copie they had ſet, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloodie Characters.

Which deſign and end, whether it will juſtifie the uſe of ſuch violent means, before the divine Juſtice, I leav to their Conſciences to judg, who have alreadie felt the miſerie of the means; but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom, or that.

Such knots and croſneſs of grain beeing objected here, as will hardly ſuffer that form which they crie up, as the onely juſt reformation and ſetling of Government and Diſcipline in Churches, to go on ſo ſmoothly here, as it might do in *Scotland*; and, was by them imagined would have don in *England*, when ſo manie of the *Engliſh* Clergie, through levitie, or diſcontent, if no worſ paſſion, ſuddenly quitted their former engagements to Epiſcopacie, and faced about to their Presbyterie.

It cannot but ſeem either paſſion, or ſom ſelf-ſeeking, more then true Zeal and pious Diſcretion, for anie forrein State or Church to preſcribe ſuch medicines onely for others, which themſelvs have uſed, rather ſucceſsfully

fully then commendably; not considering that the same Physick on different constitutions will have different operations; That may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know anie such tough and malignant humors in the constitution of the *English* Church, which gentler applications, then those of an Armie, might not easily have removed: Nor is it so proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to polish them by fair and equal disputations among those that are most concerned in the differences; whom not Force, but Reason ought to convince.

But their design now seemed rather to cut off all disputation here, then to procure a fair and equal one: For it was concluded there, that the *English* Clergie must conform to the *Scot*'s pattern before ever they could bee heard what they could saie for themselvs, or against the other's waie.

I could have wish'd fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with such violence; and for other men's Consciences too; who can receiv little satisfaction in these points, which are maintained rather by Souldier's fighting in the Fields, then Scholar's disputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure, in matters of Religion those truths gain most on men's Judgments and Consciences,

ences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weaken's Truth with prejudices; and is unreasonable to bee used, till such means of rational conviction have been applied, as, leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemn men's obstinacie to deserved penalties.

Which no charitie will easily suspect of so manie learned and pious Church-men in *England*; who, beeing alwaies bred up & conformable to the Government of Episcopacie, cannot so soon renounce both their former opinion and practice, onely becaus that Partie of the *Scots* will needs by force assist alike Partie here, either to drive all Ministers, as sheep into the common fold of Presbyterie; or destroie them; at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbyterie were prooved to bee the onelie institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churche's-Government; yet I believ it would bee hard to proov, that Christ had given those *Scots*, or anie other of My Subjects, Commission by the Sword to set it up in anie of my Kingdoms, without My Consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles pai'd to the chief Governors of States, where they lived, is verie clear in the Gospel; but, that hee, or they ever commanded

manded to set up such a paritie of Presbyters,
and in such a waie as those *Scots* endeavor,
think is not verie disputable.

If Presbyterie in such a supremacie bee a
institution of Christ, sure it differ's from al
others; and is the first and onely point o
Christianitie, that was to be planted and wa
tered with so much Christian blood; whos
effusion run's in a stream so contrarie to tha
of the Primitive Planters, both of Christian
tie and Episcopacie, which was with patien
shedding of their own blood, not violen
drawing other men's. Sure there is too muc
of Man in it, to have much of Christ; non
of whose institutions were carried on, or be
gun with the temptations of Covetousnes o
Ambition; of both which this is vehement
ly suspected.

Yet was there never anie thing upon the
point, which those *Scots* had by Armie o
Commissioners to moov Mee with, by their
manie Solemn obtestations and pious threat
nings, but onely this; to represent to Mee the
wonderful necessitie of setting up their Pres
byterie in *England* to avoid the further mi
series of a War; which som men chiefly on
this design at first had begun, and now fur
ther engaged themselvs to continue.

What hinder's that any Sects, Schisms, o
Heresies, if they can get but number, strength
and

and opportunitie, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, set up their waies by the like methods of violence? all which Presbyterie seek's to suppress and render odious under those names; when wise and learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schism and Sectarism, then this Presbyterian waie; both as to the Antient, and still most Universal waie of the Church-government; and especially as to the particular Laws and Constitutions of this *English* Church; which are not yet repealed, nor are like to bee for Mee, till I see more Rational and Religious motives then Souldiers use to carrie in their Knapsacks.

But wee must leav the succes of all to God, who hath manie waies (having first taken us off from the follie of our opinions, and furie of our passion) to teach us those rules of true Reason and peaceable Wisdom, which is from above, tending most to God's glorie, and his Churche's good; which I think My self so much the more bound in Conscience to attend with the most judicious Zeal and care, by how much I esteem the Church above the State; the glorie of Christ above mine Own; and the salvation of men's Souls above the preservation of their Bodies and Estates.

Nor may anie men, I think, without sin and

pre-

preſumption, forcibly endeavour to caſt the Churches, under My care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied and faſhioned to their deſigns, till they have firſt gained My conſent, and reſolved both My own and other men's Conſciences by the ſtrength of their Reaſons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manlie, Chriſtian, nor Loyal, ſhall never either ſhake or unſettle My Religion; nor anie man's elſ, who know's what Religion mean's, and how far it is remooved from all Faction; whoſe proper engine is Force, the arbitrator of beaſts, not of reaſonable men, much leſs of humble Chriſtians and loyal Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have ſuch high conceits of themſelvs, that they care not what coſt they laie out upon their opinions; eſpecially thoſe that have ſom temptation of gain to recompence their loſſes and hazards.

Yet I was not more ſcandalized at the *Scots* Armie's comming in againſt My will, and their forfeiture of ſo manie obligations of dutie and gratitude to Mee, then I wondered how thoſe here could ſo much diſtruſt God's aſſiſtance; who ſo much pretended God's Cauſ to the People, as if they had the certaintie of ſom divine Revelation; conſidering they were more then competently furniſhed wit

with my Subject's Arms and Ammunition; My Navie by Sea; My Forts, Caſtles, and Citties by Land.

But I finde that men jealous of the Juſtifiableneſs of their doings and deſigns before God, never think they have humane ſtrength enough to carrie their work on, ſeem it never ſo plauſible to the People; what cannot bee juſtified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet ſuch is the inconſtancie that attend's all mindes engaged in violent motion, that whom ſom of them one while earneſtly invite to com in to their aſſiſtance, others of them ſoon after are wearie of, and with nauſeating caſt them out: what one Partie thought to rivet to a ſettledneſs by the ſtrength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other reject's and contemn's; at once, deſpiſing the Kirk-Government and Diſcipline of the *Scots*, and fruſtrating the ſucceſs of ſo chargeable more then charitable aſſiſtance: For, ſure the Church of *England* might have purchaſed, at a far cheaper rate, the truth and happineſs of Reformed Government and Diſcipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the beſt Divines of Chriſtendom for their adviſe in a full and free Synod; which I was ever willing to, and deſirous of, that matters beeing impartially ſettled,

might bee more satisfactorie to all, and more durable.

But much of God's justice, and man's follie will at length bee discovered, through all the films and pretensions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their designs; in vain do men hope to build their pietie on the ruines of Loyaltie. Nor can those confederations or designs bee durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretens of setting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as My best Subjects of *Scotland* never deserted Mee, so I cannot think that the most are gon so far from Mee, in a Prodigalitie of their love & respects towards Mee, as to make Mee to despair of their return; when, besides the bonds of nature and Conscience, which they have to Mee, all Reason and true Policie will teach them, that their chiefest interest consist's in their fidelitie to the Crown, not in their serviceableness to anie Partie of the People, to a neglect and betraying of My safetie and Honor for their own advantages: However, the less cauf I have to trust to men, the more I shall applie My self to God.

The troubles of My Soul are enlarged; O Lord, bring thou Mee out of My distress.

Lord direct thy Servant in the waies of that pious simplicitie, which is the best policie.

Deliver

Deliver Mee from the combined strength of those who have so much of the Serpent's subtiltie, that they forget the Dove's Innocencie.

Though hand join in hand, yet let them not prevail against My soul, to the betraying of My Conscience and Honor.

Thou, O Lord, can'st turn the hearts of those Parties in both Nations, as thou did'st the men of Judah *and* Israël, *to restore* David *with as much loyal Zeal, as they did with inconstancie and eagerness pursue Him.*

Preserv the love of thy Truth and uprightness in Mee, and I shall not despair of my Subject's affections returning towards Mee.

Thou can'st soon caus the over-flowing Seas to ebb, and retire back again to the bounds which thou hast appointed for them.

O My God, I trust in thee; let Mee not bee ashamed; let not My enemies triumph over mee.

Let them bee ashamed who transgres without a caus; let them bee turned back that persecute My Soul.

Let integritie and uprightness preserv Mee, for I wait on thee, O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.

14. *Upon the Covenant.*

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to bee hired at the ordinarie rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till thoſe that call them in have pawned their Souls to them by a Solemn League and Covenant.

Where manie engines of religious and fair pretenſions are brought chiefly to batter, or raſe Epiſcopacie; This they make the grand evil Spirit, which, (with ſom other Imps purpoſely added, to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar,) muſt by ſo ſolemn a charm and exorciſm bee caſt out of this Church, after more then a thouſand years poſſeſſion here, from the firſt plantation of Chriſtianitie in this Iſland; and an univerſal preſcription of time and practice in all other Churches, ſince the Apoſtle's times, till this laſt Centurie.

But no Antiquitie muſt plead for it: Presbyterie, like a young Heir, think's the Father hath lived long enough; and impatient not to bee in the Biſhop's Chair & Autoritie (though Lay-men go awaie with the Revenues) all Art is uſed to ſink Epiſcopacie, and lanch Presbyterie in *England*; which was lately buoyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unſatisfied with manie paſ-

ſages in that Covenant (ſom referring to My ſelf with verie dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the deſign and drift touching the Diſcipline and Government of the Church; and ſuch a manner of carrying them on to new waies, by Oaths and Covenants; where it is hard for men to bee engaged by no leſs, then ſwearing for, or againſt thoſe things, which are of no clear moral neceſſitie; but verie diſputable, and controverted among learned and godlie men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly bee made and enjoined with that judgment, and certaintie in one's ſelf, or that charitie and candor to others of different opinion, as I think Religion require's; which never refuſe's fair and equable deliberations; yea, and diſſentings too, in matters onely probable.

The enjoining of Oaths upon People muſt needs in things doubtful bee dangerous; as, in things unlawful, damnable; and no leſs ſuperfluous, where former religious and legal Engagements bound men ſufficiently to all neceſſarie duties. Nor can I ſee how they will reconcile ſuch an Innovating Oath and Covenant with that former Proteſtation, which was ſo lately taken, to maintain the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*; ſince they account Diſcipline ſo great a part of Religion.

But ambitious mindes never think they have lai'd ſnares & gins enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulitie: for, by ſuch politick and ſeemingly-pious ſtratagems, they think to keep the populacie faſt to their Parties under the terror of perjurie: Whereas certainly all honeſt and wiſe men ever thought themſelvs ſufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws, to God and man.

Nor can ſuch after-Contracts, deviſed and impoſed by a few men in a declared Partie, without My conſent, and without anie like power or precedent from God's or man's laws, bee ever thought by judicious men ſufficient either to abſolv or ſlacken thoſe moral and eternal bonds of dutie, which lie upon all My Subject's conſciences both to God and Mee.

Yet, as things now ſtand, good men ſhall leaſt offend God or Mee, by keeping their Covenant in honeſt and lawfull waies; ſince I have the charitie to think, that the chief end of the Covenant, in ſuch men's intentions, was, to preſerv Religion in Puritie, and the Kingdoms in Peace: To other then ſuch ends and means they cannot think themſelvs engaged; nor will thoſe, that have anie true touches of Conſcience endevour to carrie on the beſt deſigns, (much leſs ſuch as are, and will bee daily

daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by anie unlawful means, under that title of the Covenant: unleſs they dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous, and un-autorized novelties, before their known and ſworn duties, which are indiſpenſable, both to God and My ſelf.

I am prone to believ and hope, That manie, who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this judgment, That ſuch later Vows, Oaths, or Leagues can never blot out thoſe former gravings and characters, which by juſt and lawfull Oaths were made upon their Souls.

That which make's ſuch Confederations by waie of ſolemn Leagues and Covenants more to bee ſuſpected, is, That they are the common road, uſed in all factious and powerful perturbations of State or Church: where formalities of extraordinarie zeal and pietie are never more ſtudied and elaborate, then when Politicians moſt agitate deſperate deſigns againſt all that is ſetled, or ſacred in Religion, and Laws; which by ſuch ſcrues are cunningly, yet forcibly, wreſted by ſecret ſteps, and leſs ſenſible degrees, from their known Rule and wonted Practice, to complie with the humors of thoſe men, who aim to ſubdue all to their own will and power, under the diſguiſes of Holie Combinations.

Which cords and withs will hold men's

Conſciences no longer, then force attend's and twiſt's them: for everie man ſoon grow's his own Pope, and eaſily abſolv's himſelf of thoſe ties, which not the commands of God's Word, or the Laws of the Land, but onely the ſubtiltie and terror of a Partie caſt's upon him; either ſuperfluous and vain, when they were ſufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by ſuch after-ligaments they finde the impoſers really aiming to diſſolv, or ſuſpend their former, juſt, and neceſſarie obligation.

Indeed, ſuch illegal waies ſeldom, or never, intend the engaging men more to Duties, but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of pietie pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Partie and Deſign intended.

I ſee the Impoſers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to everie man's palat and reliſh, who will but ſwallow it: They admit anie men's ſenſes of it, though diverſ, or contrarie; with anie ſalvo's, cautions and reſervations; ſo as they croſs not the Chief Deſign which is laid againſt the Church, and Mee.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a ſeeming encreaſ to their Partie; ſo little men remember that God is not mocked.

In

In ſuch latitudes of ſenſ, I believ manie that love Mee, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not ſo fondly and ſuperſtitiouſly taken by it, as now to act clearly againſt both all pietie & loyaltie: who firſt yeilded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads in caſe they wholly refuſed it, then for anie value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of ſom general Clauſes may (perhaps) ſerv ſomwhat to relievthem; as of *Doing and endevouring what lawfully they may*, in *their Places and Callings*, and *according to the Word of God*: for, theſe (Indeed) carrie no man beyond thoſe bounds of good Conſcience which are certain and fixed, either in God's Laws, as to the general; or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular regulation and exerciſe of men's duties:

I would to God ſuch as glorie moſt in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themſelvs within thoſe lawful bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the beſt waie to expiate the raſhneſs of taking it: which muſt needs then appear, when beſides the want of a full and lawful Autoritie at firſt to enjoin it, it ſhall actually bee carried on beyond and againſt thoſe ends which were in it ſpecified and pretended. I willingly forgive

ſuch

ſuch men's taking the Covenant, who keep it with in ſuch bounds of Pietie, Law, & Loyaltie, as can never hurt either the Church, My ſelf, or the Publick Peace: Againſt which no man's lawful Calling can engage him.

As for that reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretend's, I cannot think it juſt or comly, that by the partial adviſe of a few Divines, (of ſo ſoft and ſervile tempers, as diſpoſed them to ſo ſudden acting & compliance, contrarie to their former judgments, profeſſion, and practice) ſuch foul ſcandals and ſuſpicions ſhould bee caſt upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never don (that I have heard) by anie that deſerved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by anie men of learning and candor at home: all whoſe judgments I cannot but prefer before anie men's now factiouſly engaged.

No man can bee more forward then My ſelf to carrie on all due Reformations, with mature judgment, and a good Conſcience, in what things I ſhall (after impartial adviſe) bee, by God's Word, and right reaſon, convinced to bee amiſs; I have offered more then ever the fulleſt, free'ſt, and wiſeſt Parliaments did deſire.

But the ſequel of ſom men's actions make's it evident, that the main Reformation intended,

ded, is the abaſing of Epiſcopacie into Preſbyterie, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriouſly uſed, as to their legal Rights, then the Biſhops and Church-men. Theſe, as the fatteſt Deer, muſt bee deſtroyed; the other Raſcal-herd of Schiſms, Hereſies, &c. beeing lean, may enjoie the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth*'s Vineyard made him the onely Blaſphemer of his Cittie, and fit to die. Still I ſee, while the breath of Religion fill's the Sails, Profit is the Compaſs, by which Factious men ſteer their courſ in all ſeditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no man laie more open to the ſacrilegious temptation of uſurping the Churche's Lands and Revenues, (which iſſuing chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crown, with My Conſent) ſo I have alwaies had ſuch a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soul, that I never found the leaſt inclination to ſuch ſacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater deſire to have Biſhops and all Church-men ſo reformed, that they may beſt deſerv and uſe, not onely what the pious Munificence of My Predeceſſors hath giv'n to God and the Church, but all other additions of Chriſtian bountie.

But no neceſſitie ſhall ever, I hope, drive Mee

or

or Mine to invade or ſell the Prieſt's Lands; which both *Pharaoh*'s divinitie, and *Joſeph*'s true pietie abhorred to do: ſo unjuſt I think it, both in the eie of Reaſon and Religion, to deprive the moſt ſacred emploiment of all due incouragements; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to with-draw the Straw, and encreaſ the Task; ſo purſuing the oppreſſed Church, as ſom have don, to the red ſea of a Civil War, where nothing but a miracle can ſave either It, or Him, who eſteem's it His greateſt Title to bee called, and His chiefeſt glorie to bee, *The Defendor of the Church, both in its true Faith, and its juſt fruitions; equally abhorring Sacriledg and Apoſtacie.*

I had rather live as My Predeceſſor *Henrie* the third ſomtime did, on the Churche's Alms, then violently to take the bread out of Biſhop's and Miniſter's mouths.

The next work will bee *Jeroboam*'s reformation; conſecrating the meaneſt of the People to bee Prieſts in *Iſrael*, to ſerv thoſe golden Calvs who have enriched themſelvs with the Churche's Patrimonie and Dowrie; which how it thrived both with Prince, Prieſts & People, is well enough known: And ſo it will bee here, when, from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have been nurſing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it ſhall bee at their allowance, who have alreadie diſcovered

covered, what hard Fathers and Step-mothers they will bee.

If the povertie of *Scotland* might, yet the plentie of *England* cannot excuſe the envie and rapine of the Churche's Rights and Revenues.

I cannot ſo much as praie God to prevent thoſe ſad conſequences, which will inevitably follow the paritie and povertie of Miniſters, both in Church and State; ſince I think it no leſs then a mocking and tempting of God, to deſire him to hinder thoſe miſchiefs, whoſe occaſions and remedies are in our own power; it beeing everie man's ſin not to avoid the one, and not to uſe the other.

There are waies enough to repair the breaches of the State without the ruines of the Church; as I would bee a Reſtorer of the one, ſo I would not bee an Oppreſſor of the other, under the pretenſ of Publick Debts: The occaſions contracting them were bad enough, but ſuch a diſcharging of them would bee much worſ; I praie God neither I, nor Mine, may bee acceſſorie to either.

To thee, O Lord, do I addreſs My praier, beſeeching thee to pardon the raſhneſs of My Subject's Swearings, and to quicken their ſenſ and obſervation of thoſe juſt, moral, and indiſpenſable bonds, which thy Word, and the Laws of this

this Kingdom have lai'd upon their Consciences from which no pretensions of Pietie and Reformation are sufficient to absolv them, or to engage them to anie contrarie practices.

Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can bee religious.

Thou alloweſt no man's committing Sacrilege under the zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious designs to have the countenance of religious Ties.

Thou hast taught us by the wiseſt of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are Holie, and after Vows to make inquirie.

Ever keep thy servant from consenting to perjurious and sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all posteritie of robbing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bountie hath giv'n us, and thy clemencie accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though My Treasures are Exhausted, My Revenues Diminished, and My Debts Increased, yet never suffer Mee to bee tempted to use such profane Reparations; leſt a coal from thine Altar set such a fire on My Throne and Conscience as will bee hardly quenched.

Let not the debts & engagements of the Publick, which som men's follie & prodigalitie hath contracted, bee an occasion to impoverish thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of Peace upon us; the Church is never likely, in times,

times, where the Charitie of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so illiberal.

Continue to those that serv Thee and thy Church all those encouragements, which, by the will of the pious Donors, and the Justice of the Laws, are due unto them; and give them grace to deserv and use them aright to thy glorie, and the relief of the poor; that thy Priests may bee clothed with righteousneſs, and the poor may bee satisfied with bread.

Let not Holie things bee giv'n to Swine, nor the Churche's bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the Cittie, grin like a Dog, and grudg that they are not satisfied.

Let those Sacred morsels, which som men have already by violence devoured, never digeſt with them, nor their's; let them bee as Naboth's Vineyard to Ahab, gall in their Mouths, rottenneſs to their Names, a moth to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations to do wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have bandied together against the Church and State; that the follie of such may bee manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But so favor My righteous dealing, O Lord, that, in the Mercies of thee the most High, I may never miscarrie.

15. Upon

15. *Upon the manie Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the* KING, *to stir up the People against Him.*

IF I had not My own Innocencie, and God's protection, it were hard for Mee to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of malice, which by Falsities seek to oppress this Truth; and by Jealousies to supplie the defect of Real causses, which might seem to justifie so unjust Engagements against Mee.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostilitie com short of these designs: For, I can more willingly lose My Crowns, then My Credit; nor are My Kingdoms so dear to Mee, as My Reputation and Honor.

Those must have a period with My life; but these may survive to a glorious kinde of Immortalitie, when I am dead and gon: A good Name beeing the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an Eternitie of love and gratitude among Posteritie.

Those foul and false aspersions were secret engines at first emploied against My People's love of Mee: that, undermining their opinion and value of Mee, My enemies, and their too, might at once blow up their affections and batter down their Loyaltie.

Wherein

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment of My Honor is not so afflictive to Mee, as the sin and danger of My people's souls; whose eies once blinded with such mists of suspicions, they are soon mis-led into the most desperate precipices of actions; wherein they do not onely not consider their sin and danger, but glorie in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them so fit to bee destroied, that manie are ambitious to merit the name of My Destroiers; Imagining they then fear God most, when they least honor their King.

I thank God, I never found but My pittie was above My anger; nor have My passions ever so prevailed against Mee, as to exclude My most compassionate praiers for them, whom devout errors, more then their own malice have betraied to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the Charitie to interpret, that most part of My Subjects fought against My supposed Errors, not My Person; and intended to mend Mee, not to end Mee: And, I hope, that God, pardoning their Errors, hath so far accepted and answered their good intentions, that as hee hath yet preserved Mee, so hee hath by these afflictions prepared Mee, both to do him better service, and My people more good, then hitherto I have don.

I do

I do not more willingly forgive their se-
ductions, which occasioned their loyal inju-
rie, then I am ambitious by all Princely me-
rits to redeem them from their unjust susp-
tions, and reward them for their good inte-
tions.

I am too conscious to My own Affection
toward the generalitie of My people, to suspect
theirs to Mee; nor shal the malice of My Ene-
miesever bee able to deprive Mee of the com-
fort, which that confidence give's Mee; I shal
never gratifie the spightfulness of a few wit-
anie sinister thought of all their Allegiance
whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst som men's ambition can do, shal
never perswade Mee to make so bad interpre-
tations of most of My Subject's actions; wh
possibly may bee Erroneous, but not Hereti-
cal in point of Loyaltie.

The sens of the Injuries don unto my Sub-
jects is as sharp, as those don to My self; our
welfares beeing inseparable; in this onely
they suffer more then My self, that they are
animated by som seducers to injure at once
both themselvs and Mee.

For this is not enough to the malice of My
Enemies, that I bee afflicted; but it must bee
don by such instruments, that My afflictions
griev Mee not more, then this doth, that I am
afflicted by those, whose prosperitie I earnest-
ly

ly desire, and whose seduction I heartily de-
plore.

If they had been My open and forraign E-
nemies, I could have born it; but they must
bee My own Subjects, who are, next to My
Children, dear to Mee: and for the restoring
of whose tranquillitie, I could willingly bee
the *Jonah*; if I did not evidently fore-see, that
by the divided Interests of their and Mine E-
nemies, as by contrarie windes, the storm of
their miseries would bee rather increased then
allaied.

I had rather prevent My people's ruine then
Rule over them; nor am I so ambitious of that
Dominion, which is but My Right, as of their
happiness; if it could expiate or countervail
such a way of obtaining it, by the highest in-
juries of Subjects committed against their
Sovereign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the miseries of
life, and die manie deaths, then shamefully to
desert, or dishonorably to betraie My own
just Rights and Sovereigntie, thereby to gra-
tifie the ambition, or justifie the malice of My
Enemies; between whose malice, and other
men's mistakes, I put as great a difference, as
between an ordinarie Ague and the Plague;
or the Itch of Noveltie, and the Leprosie of
Disloyaltie.

As Liars need have good Memories, so Ma-

litious persons need good inventions; that their calumnies may fit everie man's fancie; and, what their repoaches want of truth, they may make up with number and shew.

My patience (I thank God) will better serv Mee to bear, and My charitie to forgive, then My leisure to answer the manie falſ Assperſions which som men have caſt upon Mee.

Did I not more consider My Subject's Satisfaction, then My own Vindication, I should never have giv'n the malice of som men that pleasure, as to see Mee take notice of, or remember what they saie, or object.

I would leav the Autors to bee punished by their own evil manners and seared Consciences, which will, I believ, in a shorter time then they bee aware of, both confute and revenge all those black and falſ Scandals which they have caſt on Mee; And make the world see, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them; or Civilitie, (I need not saie Loyaltie) in the not-suppressing of them; whose credit and reputation, even with the people, shall ere long bee quite blasted by the breath of that same fornace of Popular obloquie and detraction, which they have studied to heat and inflame to the highest degree of infamie, and wherein they have sought to caſt and consume My Name and Honor.

First,

First, nothing gave Mee more cauſ to suspect and search My own Innocencie, then when I observed so manie forward to engage againſt Mee, who had made great professions of singular pietie; For this gave to vulgar mindes so bad a reflection upon Mee, and My Cauſ, as if it had been impossible to adhere to Mee, and not withal part from God; to think or speak well of Mee, and not to blaspheme him; so manie were perſwaded that these two were utterly inconsiſtent, to bee at once Loyall to Mee, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) manie with Mee, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinarie size, and that vulgar proportion, wherein som men glorie so much) who were so well satisfied in the cauſ of My sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with Mee, then forsake Mee.

Nor is it strange that so Religious Pretensions, as were used againſt Mee, should bee to manie well-minded men a great temptation to oppose Mee; Especially, beeing urged by such Popular Preachers, as think it no sin to lie for God, and what they pleas to call God's Cauſ, cursing all that will not curs with them; looking so much at, and crying up the goodness of the end propounded, that they consider not the lawfulness of the means used,

nor the depth of the miſchief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakneſs of theſe mens judgments muſt be made up by their clamors & activitie.

It was a great part of ſom mens Religion to ſcandalize Mee and Mine; they thought theirs could not bee true, if they cried not down Mine as falſ.

I thank God, I have had more triall of his grace, as to the conſtancie of My Religion in the Proteſtant Profeſſion of the Church of *England*, both abroad and at home, then ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know anie exception, I am ſo liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixedneſs in that Religion, whoſe judicious and ſolid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquitie, will not give My Conſcience leav to approov, or conſent to thoſe manie dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of ſom men would needs obtrude upon Mee, and My People.

Contrarie to thoſe well tried foundations both of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have ſettled in the Confeſſion & Conſtitution of this Church in *England*; which manie former Parliaments in the moſt calm, and unpaſſionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I ſhall ever, by Gods help, perſevere, as believing

lieving it hath moſt of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did My uſing the aſſiſtance of ſom Papiſts, which were My Subjects, anie waie fight againſt My Religion, as ſom men would needs interpret it: eſpecially thoſe who leaſt of all men cared whom they emploied, or what they ſaid, & did, ſo they might prevail.

'Tis ſtrange that ſo wiſe men, as they would bee eſteemed, ſhould not conceiv, That differences of perſwaſion in matters of Religion may eaſily fal out, where there is the fameneſs of dutie, Allegiance, and ſubjection. The firſt they own as men, and Chriſtians to God; the ſecond, they ow to Mee in common, as their KING. Different profeſſions in point of Religion cannot (anie more then in civil Trades) take away the communitie of relations either to Parents, or to Princes: And where is there ſuch an *Oglio* or medly of various Religions in the world again, as thoſe men entertain in their ſervice (who finde moſt fault with Mee) without anie ſcruple, as to the diverſitie of their Sects and Opinons?

It was, indeed, a foul and indelible ſhame, for ſuch as would bee counted Proteſtants, to enforce Mee, a declared Proteſtant, their Lord and King, to a neceſſarie uſe of Papiſts, or anie other, who did but their dutie to help Mee to defend My ſelf.

Nor did I more then is lawful for anie King, in such exigents to use the aid of anie his Subjects.

I am sorrie the Papists should have a greater sens of their Allegiance, then manie Protestant-Professors; who seem to have learned, and to practise the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it had been a verie impertinent and unseasonable scruple in Mee, (and verie pleasing no doubt to My Enemies) to have been then disputing the points of different beliefs in My Subjects, when I was disputed with by Sword's points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects as men, no less, then their praiers as Christians.

The noise of My *Evil Counsellors* was another useful devise for those, who were impatient anie men's counsels, but their own, should bee followed in Church and State; who were so eager in giving Mee better counsel, that they would not give Mee leav to take it with freedom, as a Man; or honor, as a King; making their counsels more like a Drench that must bee powred down, then a draught which might bee fairly and leasurely drunk, if I liked it.

I will not justifie, beyond humane errors and frailties My self, or My Counsellors: They might bee subject to som miscarriages, yet

yet such as were far more reparable by second and better thoughts, then those enormous extravagances, wherewith som men have now even wild'red, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evident to My Subjects, that, had I followed the worst Counsels, that My worst Counsellors ever had the boldness to offer to Mee, or My self anie inclination to use, I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdoms, to such a *Chaos* of confusions and Hell of miseries, as som have don; out of which they cannot, or will not, in the mid'st of their manie great advantages, redeem either Mee or My Subjects.

No Men were more willing to complain, then I was to redress what I saw in Reason was either don or advised amiss; and this I thought I had don, even beyond the expectation of moderate men; who were sorrie to see Mee prone even to injure My self, out of a zeal to reliev My Subjects.

But other men's insatiable desire of revenge upon Mee, My Court, and My Clergie, hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all My, either Retractations, or Concessions; and, withal, hath deprived all those (now so zealous Persecutors)

tors) both of the comfort and reward of this
former pretended perſecutions, wherein the
ſo much gloried among the vulgar; a
which, indeed, a truly humble Chriſtian w
ſo highly prize, as rather not to bee relieve
then bee revenged, ſo as to bee bereaved
that Crown of Chriſtian Patience, which
tend's humble and injured ſufferers.

Another artifice uſed to with-draw M
People's affections from Mee, to their
ſigns, was, The noiſand oſtentation of *Lib*
tie, which men are not more prone to deſi
then unapt to bear in the Popular ſenſ; whi
is to do what everie man liketh beſt.

If the Divineſt libertie bee to will wh
men ſhould, and to do what they ſo will, a
cording to Reaſon, Laws, and Religion, I en
vie not My Subjects that libertie, which is
I deſire to enjoie My ſelf; ſo far am I fro
the deſire of oppreſſing their's: Nor we
thoſe Lords and Gentlemen which aſſiſte
Mee ſo prodigal of their liberties, as wi
their Lives and Fortunes to help on the enſl
ving of themſelvs and their poſterities.

As to Civil Immunities, none but ſuch a
deſire to drive on their Ambitious and Cove
tous deſigns over the ruines of Church an
State, Prince, Peers, and People; will eve
deſire greater Freedoms then the Laws al
low; whoſe bounds good men count the

Orn

Ornament and Protection; others their Ma-
nacles and Oppreſſion.

Nor is it juſt anie man ſhould expect the
reward and benefit of the Law, who deſpi-
ſeth it's rule and direction; loſing juſtly his
Safetie while hee ſeek's an unreaſonable Li-
bertie.

Time will beſt inform My Subjects, that
thoſe are the beſt preſervers of their true Li-
berties, who allow themſelvs the leaſt licen-
tiouſneſs againſt, or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at laſt to their coſt, that it
is impoſſible thoſe men ſhould bee really
tender of their fellow-ſubject's liberties, who
have the hardineſs to uſe their King with ſo
ſevere reſtraints, againſt all Laws, both Di-
vine and Humane; under which, yet, I will
rather periſh, then complain to thoſe, who
want nothing to compleat their mirth and
triumph, but ſuch muſick.

In point of true conſcientious tenderneſs
(attended with humilitie and meekneſs, not
with proud & arrogant activitie, which ſeek's
to hatch everie egg of different opinion to a
Faction or Schiſm) I have oft declared, how
little I deſire My Laws and Scepter ſhould
intrench on God's Sovereigntie, which is the
onely King of men's conſciences; and yet hee
hath lai'd ſuch reſtraints upon men, as com-
mand them to bee ſubject for Conſcience
ſake,

ſake, giving no men libertie to break the La
eſtabliſhed, further then with meekneſs a
patience they are content to ſuffer the pen
ties annexed, rather then perturb the Publi
Peace.

The truth is, ſom men's thirſt after Nov
ties, other's deſpair to reliev the neceſſities
their Fortunes, or ſatisfie their Ambition,
peaceable times, (diſtruſting God's pro
dence, as well as their own merits) were t
ſecret (but principal) impulſives to theſe P
pular Commotions, by which Subjects ha
been perſwaded to expend much of tho
plentiful eſtates they got, and enjoied und
My Government, in peaceable times; whi
yet muſt now bee blaſted with all the odio
reproaches, which impotent malice can i
vent; and My ſelf expoſed to all thoſe co
tempts, which may moſt diminiſh the Maj
ſtie of a King, and increaſ the ungrateful i
ſolencies of My People.

For Mine Honor; I am well aſſured, th
as Mine Innocencie is clear before God, i
point of anie calumnies they object; ſo M
Reputation ſhall, like the Sun (after Owls an
Bats have had their freedom in the night an
darker times) riſe and recover it ſelf to ſuch
degree of ſplendor, as thoſe feral birds ſhal
bee grieved to behold, and unable to bear
For never were anie Princes more glorious,
then

then thoſe whom God hath ſuffer'd to bee
tried in the fornace of afflictions by their in-
jurious Subjects.

And who know's but the juſt and merci-
ful God will do Mee good, for ſom men's
hard, falſ, and evil ſpeeches againſt Mee;
wherein they ſpeak rather what they wiſh,
then what they believ, or know.

Nor can I ſuffer ſo much in point of Honor,
by thoſe rude and ſcandalous Pamphlets
(which, like fire, in great conflagrations, flie
up and down to ſet all places on like flames)
as thoſe men do, who, pretending to ſo
much pietie, are ſo forgetful of their Dutie to
God and Mee; By no waie ever vindicating
the Majeſtie of their KING againſt anie of
thoſe, who contrarie to the precept of God,
and precedent of Angels, *ſpeak evil of digni-
ties, and bring railing accuſations againſt thoſe,*
who are honored with the name of *Gods*.

But 'tis no wonder, if men not fearing God
ſhould not Honor their KING.

They will eaſily contemn ſuch ſhadows of
God, who reverence not that Supreme, and
Adorable Majeſtie, in compariſon of whom
all the glorie of Men and Angels is but ob-
ſcuritie; yet hath hee graven ſuch Characters
of divine Autoritie, and Sacred Power upon
Kings, as none may without ſin ſeek to blot
them out. Nor ſhall their black veils bee able
to

to hide the ſhining of My face, while G
give's Mee a heart frequently and humbly
converſ with him, from whom alone are
the irradiations of true glorie and majeſtie.

Thou, O Lord, knoweſt My reproach, and My
honor, My Adverſaries are all before thee.

My Soul is among lions, among them that
ſet on fire, even the Sons of Men; whoſe teeth
ſpears and arrows; their tongue a ſharp ſword.

Mine enemies reproach Mee all the day long,
thoſe that are mad againſt Mee are ſworn toget

O My God, how long ſhall the ſons of men
My glorie into ſhame? how long ſhall they love
nitie, and ſeek after lies?

Thou haſt heard the reproaches of wicked
on everie ſide. Hold not thy peace, leſt My enem
prevail againſt Mee, and laie Mine Honor in
duſt.

Thou, O Lord, ſhalt deſtroy them that ſpeak li
the Lord will abhor both blood-thirſtie, and deceit
ful men.

Make My righteouſneſs to appear as the ligh
and Mine innocencie to ſhine forth as the Sun
noon daie.

Suffer not My ſilence to betraie Mine innocen
nor My diſpleaſure My patience; That, after M
Saviors example, beeing reviled, I may not revi
again; and, beeing curſed by them, I may bleſs them
Thou that would'ſt not ſuffer Shimei's *tongu*

to go unpuniſhed; when by thy judgments on David *hee might ſeem to juſtifie his diſdainful reproaches, give Mee grace to intercede with thy mercie for theſe My enemies; that the reward of falſ and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternal fire, may not bee brought upon them.*

Let My praiers, and patience, bee as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are alreadie ſet on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with thoſe malitious flames.

Let Mee bee happie to refute, and put to ſilence their evil-ſpeaking by wel-doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of My praier for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach Mee David's *patience and* Hezekiah's *devotion, that I may look to thy mercie through man's malice, and ſee thy juſtice in their ſin.*

Let Sheba's *ſeditious ſpeeches,* Rabſhekah's *railing, and* Shimei's *curſing, provoke, as My humble praier to thee, ſo thy renewed bleſſing toward Mee.*

Though they curſ, do thou bleſs, and I ſhall bee bleſſed, and made a bleſſing to My people.

That the ſtone, which ſom builders refuſe, may becom the head-ſtone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and ſave Mee, from the reproach of them that would ſwallow Mee up.

Hide Mee in the ſecret of thy preſence, from the pride of man, and keep Mee from the ſtrife of tongues.

16. *Upon*

16. *Upon the Ordinance against the Common Praier-Book.*

IT is no news to have all Innovations usher-ed in with the name of Reformation i Church and State, by those, who, seeking t gain reputation with the Vulgar for their e traordinarie parts and pietie, must needs und what ever was formerly settled never so we and wisely.

So hardly can the pride of those that stud Novelties allow former times anie share degree of wisdom or godlines.

And becauſ matter of praier and devotio to God justly bear's a great part in Religio (beeing the Soul's more immediate conve with the Divine Majestie) nothing could be more plausible to the People then to t them, They served God amiss in that point.

Hence our publick Liturgie, or Forms constant Praiers must bee not amended (i what upon free and publick advise migh seem to sober men inconvenient for matte or manner, to which I should easily consen but wholly cashiered and abolished; an after manie Popular contempts offered to th Book, and those that used it according t their Consciences and the Laws in force, must bee crucified by an Ordinance, th

bette

better to plead either those men, who gloried in their extemporarie vein and fluencie; or others, who conscious to their own formalitie in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a total rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadnes of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of pietie to make what profane objections they could against it, especially for Poperie and Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgie was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of *England*; and this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to bee most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using Set and Prescribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholsom words, beeing known and fitted to men's understandings, are sooneſt received into their hearts, and apteſt to excite and carrie along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I see anie reason why Christians should bee wearie of a well-composed Liturgie (as I hold this to bee) more then of all other things, wherein the Constancie abate's nothing of the excellencie and usefulnes.

I could never ſee anie Reaſon, why anie Chriſtian ſhould abhor, or bee forbidden to uſe the ſame Forms of praier, ſince hee praies to the ſame God, believ's in the ſame Saviour, profeſſeth the ſame Truths, read's the ſame Scriptures, hath the ſame duties upon him, and feel's the ſame dailie wants for the moſt part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure, wee may as well before-hand know what wee praie, as to whom wee praie; and in what words, as to what ſenſ; when wee deſire the ſame things, what hinder's wee may not uſe the ſame words? our appetite and digeſtion too may bee good when wee uſe, as wee praie for, *Our dailie bread.*

Som men, I hear, are ſo impatient not to uſe in all their devotions their own invention and gifts, that they not onely diſ-uſe (as too manie) but wholly caſt away and contemn the *Lord's Praier*; whoſe great guilt is, that it is the warrant and original pattern of all ſet Liturgies in the Chriſtian Church.

I ever thought that the proud oſtentation of men's abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of varietie for expreſſions, in Publick Praier, or anie Sacred Adminiſtration merit's a greater brand of ſin, then that which they call Coldneſs and Barrenneſs: Nor are men in thoſe Novelties leſs ſubject to formality

and ſuperficial tempers (as to their hearts) then in the uſe of conſtant Forms, where not the words, but men's hearts are too blame.

I make no doubt but a man may bee verie formal in the moſt extemporarie varietie; and verie fervently devout in the moſt wonted expreſſions: Nor is God more a God of varietie, then of conſtancie: Nor are conſtant Forms of Praiers more likelie to ſtat and hinder the Spirit of Praier and Devotion, then un-premeditated and confuſed varietie to diſtract and loſe it.

Though I am not againſt a grave, modeſt, diſcreet, and humble uſe of Miniſter's gifts, even in Publick, the better to fit and excite their own, and the People's affections to the preſent occaſions; yet I know no neceſſitie why private and ſingle abilities ſhould quite juſtle out, and deprive the Church of the joint abilities and concurrent gifts of manie learned and godlie men; ſuch as the Compoſers of the Service-Book were; who may in all reaſon bee thought to have more of gifts & graces enabling them to compoſe with ſerious deliberation & concurrent adviſe, ſuch Forms of praiers, as may beſt fit the Churche's common wants, inform the Hearer's underſtanding, and ſtir up that fiduciarie and fervent application of their ſpirits (wherein conſiſt's the verie life and ſoul of praier, and that ſo much

much pretended Spirit of Praier) then an
private man by his ſolitarie abilities can be
preſumed to have; which, what they are m
nie times (even there, where they made
great noiſ and ſhew) the affectations, emp
neſs, impertinencie, rudeneſs, confuſions, fl
neſs, levitie, obſcuritie, vain and ridiculo
repetitions; the ſenſleſs, and oft-times bl
phemous expreſſions; all theſe burthen
with a moſt tedious and intolerable leng
do ſufficiently convince all men, but th
who glorie in that Phariſaick waie. Whe
in men muſt bee ſtrangely impudent, a
flatterers of themſelvs, not to have an infin
ſhame of what they ſo do and ſaie, in thi
of ſo ſacred a nature, before God and t
Church, after ſo ridiculous, and, indeed, p
fane a manner.

Nor can it bee exſpected, but that, in du
of frequent performance, as Sacramental
miniſtrations, and the like, which are ſtill t
ſame, Miniſters muſt either com to uſe th
own Forms conſtantly, which are not like
bee ſo found, or comprehenſive of the na
of the dutie, as forms of Publick compoſu
or elſ they muſt everie time affect new e
preſſions when the ſubject is the ſame; wh
can hardly bee preſumed in anie man's gr
teſt ſufficiencies not to want (manie tim
much of that compleatneſs, order, and gr

tie, becomming thoſe duties; which by this means are expoſed at everie celebration to everie Miniſter's private infirmities, indiſpoſitions, errors, diſorders, and defects, both for judgment, and expreſſion.

A ſerious ſenſ of which inconvenience, in the Church, unavoidably following everie man's ſeveral manner of officiating, no doubt, firſt occaſioned the wiſdom and pietie of the Antient Churches, to remedie thoſe miſchiefs, by the uſe of conſtant Liturgies of Publick compoſure.

The want of which I believ this Church will ſufficiently feel, when the unhappie fruits of manie men's un-govern'd ignorance, and confident defects, ſhall bee diſcovered in more errors, ſchiſms, diſorders, and uncharitable diſtractions in Religion, which are alreadie but too manie, the more pittie.

However, if violence muſt needs bring in, and abett thoſe Innovations, (that men may not ſeem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reaſon, and Religion forbid, at leaſt to be ſo obtruded, as wholly to juſtle out the Publick Liturgie: Yet nothing can excuſe that moſt unjuſt and partial ſeveritie of thoſe men, who either lately had ſubſcribed to, uſed, and maintained the Service book; or, refuſing to uſe it, cried out of the rigor of Laws and Biſhops, which ſuffered them not to uſe the li-

bertie of their Conſciences, in not uſing it.

That theſe men (I ſaie) ſhould ſo ſudden change the Liturgie into a *Directorie*, as if th Spirit needed help for invention, though no for expreſſions; or as if matter preſcribed di not as much ſtint and obſtruct the Spirit, as it were clothed in, and confined to fit word (So ſlight and eaſie is that Legerdema which will ſerv to delude the vulgar) Th further, they ſhould uſe ſuch ſeveritie as n to ſuffer, without penaltie, anie to uſe t Common-Prajer-Book publickly, (althoug their Conſciences binde them to it, as a Dut of Pietie to God, and Obedience to th Lawes.) ——————

Thus I ſee, no men are prone to bee greate Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upo others to conform to their illegal novelties then ſuch, whoſe pride was formerly leaſt di poſed to the obedience of lawful Conſtitu tions; and whoſe licentious humors mo pretended Conſcientious liberties; whic freedom, with much regreet, they now allow to Mee, and My Chaplains, (when they ma have leav to ſerv Mee,) whoſe abilities, eve in their extemporarie waie com's not ſhort o the other's, but their modeſtie and learning far exceed's the moſt of them.

But this matter is of ſo Popular a nature, a ſom men knew it would not bear learned an ſobe

ſober debates, leſt, beeing convinced by the evidence of Reaſon, as well as Laws, they ſhould have been driv'n either to ſin more againſt their knowledg, by taking awaie the Liturgie; or to diſpleaſ ſom faction of the people by continuing the uſe of it.

Though I believ they have offended more conſiderable men, not onely for their numbers and eſtate, but for their weightie and judicious pietie, then thoſe are, whoſe weakneſs or giddineſs they ſought to gratifie by taking it awaie.

One of the greateſt faults ſom men found with the Common-Prajer-Book, I believ, was this, That it taught them to praie ſo oft for Mee; to which Petitions they had not Loyaltie enough to ſaie *Amen*, nor yet Charitie enough to forbear Reproaches, and even Curſings of Mee in their own forms, in ſtead of praying for Mee.

I wiſh their Repentance may bee their onely puniſhment; that, ſeeing the miſchiefs which the diſuſe of publick Liturgies hath alreadie produced, they may reſtore that credit, uſe, and reverence to them, which by the antient Churches were giv'n to Set Forms of ſound and wholſom words.

And thou, O Lord, who art the ſame God, bleſſed for ever; whoſe mercies are full of varietie,

and yet of constancie: Thou denieſt us not a new and
freſh ſenſ of our old and dailie wants; nor deſpiſeſt
renewed affections joined to conſtant expreſſions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churche's unit-
ted and wel-adviſed Devotions.

Let the matters of our praiers bee agreeable to
thy will, which is alwaies the ſame; and the fervent-
cie of our ſpirits to the motions of thy holie Spirit
in us.

And then wee doubt not, but thy ſpiritual per-
fections are ſuch, as thou art neither to bee pleaſed
with affected Novelties for matter or manner; nor
offended with the pious conſtancie of our petitions
in them both.

Whoſe varietie or conſtancie thou haſt no where
either forbidden, or commanded, but left them to the
pietie or prudence of thy Church, that both may be
uſed, neither deſpiſed.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judg-
ments in matters of Religion, that their ignorance
may not offend others, nor their opinion of their
own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what
they may lawfully and devoutly uſe, to help their
infirmities.

And ſince the advantage of Error conſiſt's in
Noveltie & varietie, as Truth's in unitie and Con-
ſtancie; Suffer not thy Church to bee peſtered with
errors, and deformed with undecencies in thy ſer-
vice, under the pretenſ of varietie and noveltie;
Nor to bee deprived of truth, unitie, and order,
under

under this fallacie, That Conſtancie is the Cauſ of
Formalitie.

Lord keep us from formal Hypocriſie in our own
hearts, and then wee know that praying to thee, or
praiſing of thee (with David, *and other holie men)*
in the ſame forms cannot hurt us.

Give us wiſdom to amend what is amiſs within
us, and there will bee leſs to amend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from
the effects of blinde zeal, and over-bold devo-
tion.

Of the differences between the KING *and the two Houſes, in point of Church-Government.*

TOuching the GOVERNMENT of the Church by Biſhops, the common Jealouſie hath been, that I am earneſt and reſolute to maintain it, not ſo much out of Pietie, as Policie and reaſon of State.

Wherein ſo far indeed reaſon of State doth induce Mee to approve that Government above anie other, as I finde it impoſſible for a Prince to preſerv the State in quiet, unleſs hee hath ſuch an influence upon Church-men; and they ſuch a dependance on Him, as may beſt reſtrain the ſeditious exorbitancies of

Miniſters

Miniſters tongues; who with the Keies
Heaven have ſo far the Keies of the People
hearts, as they prevail much by their Orato
to let in, or ſhut out, both Peace and Loyalt

So that, beeing (as KING) entruſted by Go
and the Laws, with the good both of Chur
and State, I ſee no Reaſon I ſhould give up
weaken, by anie change, that power and in
ence which in right and reaſon I ought
have over both.

The mooving Biſhops out of the Houſ
Peers (of which I have elſwhere given an
count) was ſufficient to take off anie ſuſpici
that I incline to them for anie uſe to bee ma
of their Votes in State-affairs: Though inde
I never thought anie Biſhop worthie to ſit
that Houſ, who would not Vote according
his Conſcience.

I muſt now in Charitie bee thought deſir
to preſerv that Government in its right co
ſtitution, as a matter of Religion, where
both My judgment is fully ſatisfied, that
hath of all other the fulleſt Scripture-ground
& alſo the conſtant practice of all Chriſti
Churches; til, of late years, the tumultuarie
of People, or the factiouſneſs and pride
Presbyters, or the covetouſneſs of ſom State
and Princes, gave occaſion to ſom men
wits to invent new models, and propoſe the
under ſpecious titles of *Chriſt's Governmen*
Scepte

Scepter, and *Kingdom*, the better to ſerv
their turns, to whom the change was bene-
ficial.

They muſt give Mee leav, having none of
their temptations to invite Mee to alter the
Government of Biſhops, (that I may have a
title to their Eſtates) not to believ their pre-
tended grounds to anie new waies; contrarie to
the full, and conſtant teſtimonie of all Hiſto-
ries, ſufficiently convincing unbiaſſed men;
that as the Primitive Churches were undou-
btedly governed by the Apoſtles and their
immediate Succeſſors the firſt & beſt Biſhops,
ſo it cannot in reaſon or charitie bee ſuppoſed,
that all Churches in the world ſhould either
bee ignorant of the Rule by them preſcribed,
or ſo ſoon deviate from their divine and holie
pattern: That ſince the firſt Age, for
1500 years, not one Example can bee pro-
duced of anie ſettled Church, wherein
were manie Miniſters and Congregations,
which had not ſom Biſhop above them,
under whoſe *juriſdiction* and government
they were.

Whoſe conſtant and univerſal practiſe a-
greeing with ſo large and evident Scripture-
directions & examples, as are ſet down in the
Epiſtles to *Timothie* and *Titus*, for the ſettling
of that Government, not in the perſons onely
of *Timothie* and *Titus*, but in the ſucceſſion;
the

(the want of Government beeing that, which the Church can no more diſpenſ with, in point of wel-beeing, then the want of the Word and Sacraments, in point of beeing.) I wonder how men came to look with ſo ervious an eie upon Biſhop's power and autoritie, as to overſee both the Eccleſiaſtical uſe of them, and Apoſtolical conſtitution; which to Mee ſeem's no leſs evidently ſet forth, as to the main ſcope and deſign of thoſe Epiſtles, for the ſettling of a peculiar Office, Power, and Autoritie in them as Preſident-Biſhops above others, in point of Ordination, Cenſures, and other Acts of Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, then thoſe ſhorter characters of the qualities & duties of Presbyter-Biſhops, and Deacons, are deſcribed in ſom parts of the ſame Epiſtles; who in the latitude and communitie of the name were then, and may now not improperly bee call'd *Biſhops*; as to the over-ſight and care of ſingle Congregations, committed to them by the Apoſtles, or other Apoſtolical Biſhops, who (as *Timothie* and *Titus*) ſucceeded them in that ordinarie power, there aſſigned over large diviſions, in which were manie Presbyters.

The humilitie of thoſe firſt Biſhops avoiding the eminent title of Apoſtles, as a name in the Churche's ſtyle appropriated from its common notion (*of a Meſſenger, or one ſent*) to that

that ſpecial dignitie which hath extraordinarie call, miſſion, gifts, and power immediately from Chriſt; they contented themſelvs with the ordinarie titles of Biſhops and Preſbyters, until *Uſe* (the great Arbitrator of words, and Maſter of language) findeing reaſon to diſtinguiſh, by a peculiar name, thoſe perſons, whoſe power and office were indeed diſtinct from, and above all other in the Church, as ſucceeding the Apoſtles in the ordinarie and conſtant power of governing the Churches, (the honor of whoſe name they modeſtly, yet commendably declined, all Chriſtian Churches ſubmitting to that ſpecial autoritie) appropriated alſo the name of *Biſhop*, without anie ſuſpicion or reproach of arrogancie, to thoſe, who were by Apoſtolical propagation rightly deſcended and inveſted into that higheſt and largeſt power of governing even the moſt pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt, had manie ſuch holie Biſhops, after the pattern of *Timothie* and *Titus*; whoſe ſpecial power is not more clearly ſet down in thoſe Epiſtles (the chief grounds and limits of all Epiſcopal claim, as from Divine right) then are the characters of theſe perilous times, and thoſe men that make them ſuch; who, not enduring ſound doctrine and clear teſtimonies of all Churche's practice, are moſt perverſ Diſputers,

ters, and proud Uſurpers, againſt true Epiſcopacie: who, if they bee not Traitors and Boaſters, yet they ſeem to bee verie covetous, headie, high-minded, inordinate and fierce, lovers of themſelvs, having much of the form, little of the power of Godlineſs.

Who, by Popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, ſeek to overlaie and ſmother the pregnancie and autoritie of that power of Epiſcopal Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacie of names, is moſt convincingly ſet forth, both by Scripture, and all after-Hiſtories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, then a Prince; that Poſteritie may ſee (if ever theſe Papers bee publick) that I had fair grounds both from Scripture-Canons, and Eccleſiaſtical Examples, whereon My judgment was ſtated for Epiſcopal Government.

Nor was it anie Policie of State, or obſtinacie of will, or partialitie of affection, either to the men, or their Function, which fixed Mee; who cannot in point of worldlie reſpects be ſo conſiderable to Mee, as to recompenſ the injuries and loſſes I, and My deareſt relations with My Kingdoms, have ſuſtained and hazarded, chiefly at firſt upon this Quarrel.

And not onely in Religion, of which Scripture

pture is the beſt Rule, & the Churche's Univerſal practiſe the beſt Commentarie, but alſo in right reaſon, and the true nature of Government, it cannot bee thought that an orderlie Subordination among Presbyters or Miniſters, ſhould bee anie more againſt Chriſtianitie, then it is in all Secular and Civil Governments, where Paritie breed's Confuſion and Faction.

I can no more believ, that ſuch order is inconſiſtent with true Religion, then good features are with beautie, or numbers with harmonie.

Nor is it likelie that God, who appointed ſeveral Orders, and a Prelacie, in the Government of his Church amongſt the Jewiſh Prieſts, ſhould abhor, or forbid them among Chriſtian Miniſters; who have as much of the Principles of Schiſm and Diviſion, as other men; for preventing and ſuppreſſing of which, the Apoſtolical wiſdom (which was Divine) after that Chriſtians were multiplied to manie Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this waie of Government, which might beſt preſerv Order and Union with Autoritie.

So that I conceiv it was not the favor of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wiſdom and pietie of the Apoſtles, that firſt ſettled Biſhops in the Church; which Autoritie

ritie they constantly used and enjoied in thos
times, which were purest for Religion
though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of th
Presidencie and Autoritie in one man, by th
joint-Counsel and consent of manie Presby
ters: I have offered to restore that, as a
means to avoid those Errors, Corruption
and Partialities which are incident to anie
man: also to avoid Tyrannie, which becom
no Christians, least of all Church-men; b
sides, it will bee a means to take away th
Burden and *Odium* of Affairs, which m
lie too heavie on one man's shoulders; as,
deed, I think it formerly did on the Bisho
here.

Nor can I see what can bee more agreeab
both to Reason and Religion, then such
frame of Government which is Paternal, no
Magisterial; and wherein not onely the ne
cessitie of avoiding Faction and Confusion
Emulations and Contempts, which are pron
to arise among equals in power and function
but also the difference of som Minister's gifts
and aptitudes for Government above others
doth invite to emploie them, in reference t
their Abilities, wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this judgment of Mine, touching
Episcopacie, anie pre-occupation of opinion
which will not admit anie oppositions again
it:

it: It is well known I have endevoured to
satisfie My self in what the chief Patrons for
other waies can saie against this, or for their's:
And I finde, as they have far less of Scripture-
grounds, and of Reason; so of examples, and
practice of the Church, or testimonies of Hi-
stories they are wholly destitute; wherein the
whole stream run's so for Episcopacie, that
there is not the least rivulet for anie others.

As for those obtruded examples of som
late reformed Churches, (for manie retein
Bishops still) whom necessitie of times and
affairs rather excuseth, then commendeth for
their inconformitie to all Antiquitie; I could
never see anie reason why Churches orderly
reformed and governed by Bishops should
bee forced to conform to those few, rather
then to the Catholick example of all Antient
Churches, which needed no Reformation:
And those Churches at this daie, who, Go-
verned by Bishops in the Christian world,
are manie more then Presbyterians or Inde-
pendents can pretend to bee; All whom the
Churches in My three Kingdoms lately go-
verned by Bishops, would equalize, (I think)
if not exceed.

Nor is it anie point of wisdom or charitie,
where Christians differ, (as manie do in som
points) there to widen the differences, and at
once to give all the Christian world (except a
hand-

handfull of ſom Proteſtants) ſo great a ſcandall in point of Church-government, whom, though you may convince them of their Errors in ſom points of Doctrine, yet you ſhall never perſwade, that, to complete their Reformation, they muſt neceſſarily deſert, and wholly caſt off that Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apoſtolical: So far, that never Schiſmaticks, nor Hereticks, (except thoſe Aërians) have ſtraied from the Unitie, and Conformitie of the Church in that point; ever having Biſhops above Presbyters.

Beſides, the late general approbation and ſubmiſſion to this Government of Biſhops, by the Clergie, as well as the Laitie of these Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of My Judgment; and their inconſtancie is a great prejudice againſt their Noveltie; I cannot in charitie ſo far doubt of their learning or integritie, as if they underſtood not what heretofore they did, or that they did conform contrarie to their Conſciences; So that their facilitie and levitie is never to bee excuſed, who, before ever the point of Church-government had anie free and impartial debate, contrarie to their former Oaths and practice, againſt their obedience to the Laws in force, and againſt My conſent, have not only quite cried

down the government by Biſhops; but have approoved and incouraged the violent and moſt illegal ſtripping all the Biſhops, and manie other Church-men, of all their due Autoritie and Revenues, even to the ſelling, awaie, and utter alienation of thoſe Church-lands from anie Eccleſiaſtical uſes: So great a power hath the ſtream of times, and the prevalencie of parties, over ſom men's judgments; of whoſe ſo ſudden and ſo total change little reaſon can bee giv'n, beſides the *Scot*'s Armie comming into *England*.

But the follie of theſe men will at laſt puniſh it ſelf, and the Deſertors of Epiſcopacie will appear the greateſt Enemies to, and betraiers of their own intereſt: for Presbyterie is never ſo conſiderable, or effectual, as when it is joined to, and crowned with Epiſcopacie. All Miniſters will finde as great a difference, in point of thriving, between the favor of the People, and of Princes, as plants do between beeing watered by hand, or by the ſweet and liberal dews of Heaven.

The tenuitie and contempt of Clergie-men will ſoon let them ſee, what a poor careaſs they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whoſe Supremacie they have been ſworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great miſchiefs; I am firm to Primitive Epiſco-

Episcopacie, not to have it extirpated, (if
can hinder it.) Discretion without passio
might easily reform, whatever the rust
times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruptio
of manners have brought upon it. It beeing
gross vulgar error to impute to, or reveng
upon the Function, the faults of times, or pe
sons; which seditious and popular princip
and practice all wise men abhor.

For those secular additaments and orn
ments of Autoritie, Civil Honor, and Esta
which My Predecessors, and Christian Pri
ces in all Countries have annexed to Bisho
and Church-men; I look upon them, but
just rewards of their learning and pietie, wh
are fit to bee in anie degree of Church
Government; also enablements to works
Charitie & Hospitalitie; meet strengthenin
of their Autoritie in point of respect and ob
servance; which in peaceful times is hardl
paied to anie Governors by the measure
their virtues, so much as by that of their
states: Povertie and meanness exposing the
and their Autoritie to the contempt of licen
tious mindes and manners, which persecutin
Times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are mo
worthie of those incouragements, and best
ble to use them: if at anie time My judgme
of men failed, My good intention made M
erro

error venial: and som Bishops, I am sure, I
had, whose learning, gravitie, and pietie, no
men of anie worth or forehead can denie: but,
of all men, I would have Church-men, espe-
cially the Governors, to bee redeemed from
that vulgar neglect; which (besides an innate
principle of vitious opposition, which is in all
men against those that seem to reproov, or re-
strain them) will necessarily follow both the
Presbyterian paritie, which make's all Mini-
sters equal; and the Independent inferioritie,
which set's their Pastors below the People.

This for My judgment touching Episcopa-
cie: wherein (God know's) I do not gratifie
anie design or passion with the least perver-
ting of Truth.

And now I appeal to God above, and all the
Christian world, whether it bee just for Sub-
jects, or pious for Christians, by violence and
infinite indignities, with servile restraints to
seek to force Mee their KING and Sove-
reign, as som men have endevoured to do, a-
gainst all these grounds of My judgment, to
consent to their weak and divided Novelties.

The greatest Pretender of them desire's not
more then I do, That the Church should bee
governed, as Christ hath appointed, in true
Reason, and in Scripture; in which I could
never see anie probable shew for anie other
waies: who either content themselvs with
the

the examples of som Churches in their infa-
ecie and solitude, when one Presbyter mig
serv one Congregation in the Cittie or Cou
trie; or elſ denie theſe moſt evident Truth
That the Apoſtles were Biſhops over tho
Presbyters they ordained, as well as over t
Churches they planted; and that Gover
ment beeing neceſſarie for the Churche's we
beeing, when multiplied and sociated, m
alſo neceſſarily deſcend from the Apoſtles
others, after the example of that power a
ſuperioritie they had above others; whi
could not end with their perſons; since t
uſe and ends of ſuch Government ſtill co
tinue.

It is moſt ſure, that the pureſt, primitive, a
beſt Churches flouriſhed under Epiſcopac
and may ſo ſtill, if ignorance, ſuperſtition,
varice, revenge, and other diſorderlie and di
loyal paſſions had not ſo blown up ſom men
mindes againſt it, that, what they want o
Reaſon or Primitive Patterns, they ſuppl
with violence and oppreſſion; wherein ſo
men's zeal for Biſhop's-Land, Houſes, a
Revenues hath ſet them on work to ext
Epiſcopacie: which (however other men
ſteem) to Mee is no leſs ſin, then Sacriledg; o
a robberie of God (the giver of all wee have
of that portion which devout mindes hav
thankfully given again to him, in giving it t
his

his Church and Prophets; through whoſe hands hee gratiouſly accept's even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himſelf.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to My judgment, I am ſolemnly obliged to preſerv that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulneſs of the Function, as Antichriſtian, (which ſom men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could ſoon, with Judgment, break that Oath, which erroneouſly was taken by Mee.

But beeing daily, by the beſt diſquiſition of truth, more confirmed in the Reaſon and Religion of that to which I am Sworn; how can anie man that wiſheth not My damnation, perſwade Mee at once to ſo notorious and combined ſins, of Sacriledg and Perjurie: beſides the manie perſonal Injuſtices I muſt do to manie worthie men, who are as legally inveſted in their Eſtates, as anie, who ſeek to deprive them; and they have by no Law been convicted of thoſe crimes, which might forfeit their Eſtates and Livelie-hoods.

I have oft wondred how men pretending to tenderneſs of Conſcience, and Reformation, can at once tell Mee, that My Coronation-Oath bind's Mee to Conſent to whatſoever they ſhall propound to Mee, (which they urge

with ſuch violence) though contrarie to all that Rational and Religious freedom which everie man ought to preſerv; and of which they ſeem ſo tender in their own Votes; yet, at the ſame time, theſe men will needs perſwade Mee, That I muſt, and ought to diſpens with, and roundly break that part of My Oath, which binde's Mee (agreeable to the beſt light of Reaſon and Religion I have) to maintain the Government and legal Rights of the Church. 'Tis ſtrange, My Oath ſhould bee valid in that part, which both My ſelf and all men in their own caſe, eſteem injurious and unreaſonable, as beeing againſt the verie natural and eſſential libertie of our ſouls; yet it ſhould bee invalid, and to bee broken in another clauſ, wherein I think My ſelf juſtly obliged, both to God, and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held ſo long, by ſom men's ambitious Covetouſneſs and Sacrilegious Crueltie, torturing (with Mee) both Church and State, in Civil diſſenſions; till I ſhall bee forced to conſent, and declare that I do approov, what (God know's) I utterly diſlike, and in My Soul abhorr; as manie waies highly againſt Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion: and whereto if I ſhould ſhamefully and diſhonorably give My conſent, yet ſhould I not, by ſo doing, ſatisfie the divided Intereſts and Opinions of thoſe Parties,

Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both againſt Mee, and Epiſcopacie.

Nor can My late condeſcending to the *Scots*, in point of Church-government, bee rightly objected againſt Mee, as an inducement for Mee to conſent to the like in My other Kingdoms: For it ſhould bee conſidered that Epiſcopacie was not ſo rooted and ſettled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that reſpect) ſo ſtrictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom, as in this; for, what I think in My judgment beſt, I may not think ſo abſolutely-neceſſarie for all places, and at all times.

If anie ſhall impute My yielding to them, as My failing and ſin, I can eaſily acknowledg it; but that is no argument to do ſo again, or much worſ; I beeing now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath My yielding to them been ſo happie and ſucceſsful as to encourage Mee to grant the like to others.

Did I ſee anie thing more of Chriſt, as to Meekneſs, Juſtice, Order, Charitie, and Loyaltie in thoſe that pretend to other *modes* of Government, I might ſuſpect My judgment to bee biaſſed, or fore-ſtalled with ſom prejudice and wontedneſs of opinion; but I have hitherto ſo much cauſ to ſuſpect the contrarie in the manners of manie of thoſe men, that I cannot from them gain the leaſt reputation for

for their new waies of Government.

Nor can I finde that in anie Reformed Churches (whose patterns are so cried up and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) either Learning or Religion, works of Pietie or Charitie, have so flourished beyond what they have don in My Kingdome (by God's blessing) which might make Mee believ either Presbyterie or Independencie have a more benign influence upon the Church and men's hearts and lives, then Episcopacie in it's right Constitution.

The abuses of which, deserv to bee extirpated, as much as the use retained, for I think it far better to hold to Primitive and Uniform Antiquitie, then to complie with divided Noveltie.

A right Episcopacie would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober People; so as Church-affairs should bee managed, neither with Tyrannie, Paritie, nor Popularitie; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised, nor People oppressed.

And in this integritie, both of My Judgment and Conscience, I hope God will preserv Mee.

For Thou, O Lord, knowest my uprightness and tenderness; as thou hast set Mee to bee a Defendor

dor of the Faith, and a Protector of thy Church; so suffer Mee not, by anie violence, to bee over-born against My Conscience.

Arise, O Lord, maintain thine own Caus; let not thy Church bee deformed, as to that Government, which, derived from thy Apostles, hath been reteined in purest and primitive Times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of Secular envie, which seek's to rob it of all the encouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make Mee, as the good Samaritan, compassionate, and helpful to thy afflicted Church; which som men have wounded and robbed; others pass by without regard, either to pittie, or reliev.

As My power is from thee, so give Mee grace to use it for thee.

And though I am not suffered to bee Master of My other Rights, as a KING; *yet preserv Mee in that libertie of Reason, love of Religion, and thy Churche's welfare, which are fixed in My Conscience, as a Christian.*

Preserv, from Sacrilegious invasions, those temporal blessings, which thy Providence hath bestowed on thy Church for thy glorie.

Forgive their sins and errors, who have deserved thy just permission, thus to let in the wilde Bear and subtil Foxes, to waste and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven so long watered to a happie and flourishing estate.

O Let

O Let Mee not bear the infamous brand to all Posteritie, of beeing the first Christian King in this Kingdom, who should consent to the oppression of thy Church, and the Fathers of it; whose errors I would rather, with Constantine, *cover with silence, and reform with meekness, then expose their Persons, and sacred Functions, to vulgar contempt.*

Thou, O Lord, see'st how much I have suffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying O my God, to deliver both Mee, and it, from unreasonable men; whose counsels have brought forth, and continue such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the antient boundaries of thy Churche's peace; thereby letting in all manner of errors, schisms, and disorders.

O thou God of Order, and of truth, in thy good time, abate the malice, asswage the rage, and confound all the mischievous devises of thine, mine, and thy Churche's enemies:

That I, and all that love thy Church, may sing praises to thee, and ever magnifie thy salvation, even before the sons of men.

18. *Upon* Uxbridg-*Treatie, and other Offers made by the* King.

I Look upon the waie of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like Men; whose strength should bee more in their understandings, then in their limbs.

And

And though I could seldom get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it; having greater confidence of My Reason, then My Sword: I was so wholly resolved to yeeld to the first, that I thought neither My self, nor others, should need to use the second, if once wee rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Mee, to prevent them with Expresses of My desires, and even importunities to Treat: It beeing an office, not onely of humanitie, rather to use Reason, then Force; but also of Christianitie, to *seek peace and ensue it.*

As I was verie unwillingly compell'd to defend My self with Arms; so I verie willingly imbraced anie thing tending to peace.

The events of all War by the Sword beeing verie dubious, and of a Civil War, uncomfortable; the end hardly recompensing, and late repairing the mischief of the means.

Nor did anie succes I had ever enhance with Mee the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by Mee as anie man; though I was like to paie dearer for it, then anie man: All that I sought to reserv, was Mine Honor, and My Conscience; the one I could not part with, as a King; the other, as a Christian.

The Treatie at *Uxbridg* gave the fairest hopes of an happie composure; had others

applied

applied themſelvs to it with the ſame moderation, as I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condeſcend, as far as Reaſon, Honor, and Conſcience, would give Mee leav; nor were the remaining differences ſo eſſential to My People's happineſs; or of ſuch conſequence, as in the leaſt kinde to have hindered My Subject's either ſecuritie, or proſperitie; for they better enjoyed both, manie years, before ever thoſe demands were made; ſom of which to denie, I think the greateſt Juſtice to My ſelf, and favor to My Subjects.

I ſee, Jealouſies are not ſo eaſily allaied, as they are raiſed: Som men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, then to Engage: what is wanting in equitie, muſt bee made up in pertinacie. Such as had little to enjoie in peace, or to loſe in war, ſtudied to render the verie Name of *Peace* odious and ſuſpected.

In Church-affairs, where I had leaſt libertie of prudence, having ſo manie ſtrict Ties of Conſcience upon Mee, yet I was willing to condeſcend ſo far to the ſettling of them, as might have given fair ſatisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetouſneſs, or ſuperſtition had not engaged more, then anie true zeal, charitie, or love of Reformation.

I was

I was content to yeeld to all that might ſeem to advance true pietie; I onely ſought to continue what was neceſſarie in point of Order, Maintenance, and Autoritie to the Churche's Government, and what I am perſwaded (as I have elſwhere ſet down My thoughts more fully) is moſt agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raiſed to its full ſtature and perfection; as alſo to the Primitive-Apoſtolical pattern, and the practice of the Univerſal Church conformed thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without anie probable reaſon urged or anſwered, onely to ſatisfie ſom men's wils and phantaſies (which yet agree not among themſelvs in anie point, but that of extirpating Epiſcopacie, and fighting againſt Mee) muſt needs argue ſuch a ſoftneſs, and infirmitie of minde in Mee, as will rather part with God's Truth, then Man's Peace, and rather loſe the Churche's honor, then croſs ſom men's Factious humors.

God know's, and time will diſcover, who were moſt too blame for the un-ſucceſsfulneſs of that Treatie, & who muſt bear the guilt of after-calamities. I believ, I am verie excuſable both before God, and all unpaſſionate men, who have ſeriouſly weighed thoſe tranſactions, wherein I endevoured no leſs the reſtauration of Peace to My people, then the preſervation

vation of My own Crowns to My poste-
ritie.

Som men have that height, as to interpret all fair Condeſcendings, as Arguments of feebleneſs; and glorie moſt in an unflexible ſtifneſs, when they ſee others moſt ſupple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxim with them was alwaies to ask ſomthing, which in reaſon and honor muſt bee denied, that they might have ſom color to refuſe all that was in other things granted; ſetting Peace at as high a rate, as the worſt effects of War; endevouring firſt to make Mee deſtroie My ſelf by diſhonorable conceſſions, that ſo they might have the leſs to do.

This was all which that Treatie, or anie other produced, to let the world ſee, how little I would denie, or they grant, in order to the Publick Peace.

That it gave occaſion to ſom men's further reſtiveneſs, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to anie Conceſſions, or Negations of Mine: I have alwaies the content of what I offered; and they the regreet and blame for what they refuſed.

The higheſt tide of ſucceſs ſet Mee not above a Treatie; nor the loweſt ebb below a Fight: Though I never thought it anie ſign of true valour to bee prodigal of men's lives,

rather

rather then to bee drawn to produce our own reaſons, or ſubſcribe to other men's.

That which made Mee for the moſt part preſage the unſuccesfulneſs of anie Treatie, was, ſom men's unwillingneſs to Treat: which implied ſom things were to bee gained by the Sword, whoſe unreaſonableneſs they were loth to have fairly ſcanned, beeing more proper to bee acted by Souldiers, then by Counſellors.

I praie God forgive them that were guiltie of that Treatie's-breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword a better opportunitie to uſe ſuch moderation, as was then wanting; that ſo though Peace were for our ſins juſtly deferred, yet at laſt it may bee happily obtein'd; what wee could not get by our Treaties, wee may gain by our Praiers.

O Thou, that art the God of Reaſon, and of Peace, who diſdaineſt not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of atonement, and beſeeching them to bee reconciled with thy ſelf; who wanteſt not power, or juſtice, to deſtroie them, yet aboundeſt in mercie to ſave; ſoften our hearts by the blood of our Redeemer, and perſwade us to accept of Peace with thy ſelf, and both to procure and preſerv Peace among our ſelves, as Men and Chriſtians. How oft have I intreated for Peace! but

when I ſpeak thereof, they make them readie to War.

Condemn us not to our paſsions, which are deſtructive both of our ſelvs, and of others.

Clear up our underſtandings to ſee thy Truth both in Reaſon, as Men; and in Religion, as Chriſtians: and incline all our hearts to hold the unitie of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmitie which is now in our hearts againſt thee: and give us that charitie which ſhould bee among our ſelvs.

Remove the evils of War wee have deſerved, and beſtow upon us that Peace, which onely Chriſt our great Peace-maker can merit.

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19. *Upon the various events of the War, Victories, and Defeats.*

THe various Succeſſes of this unhappie war have, at leaſt, afforded Mee varietie of good Meditations: ſometimes God was pleaſed to trie Mee with victorie, by worſting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and uſe his power, who is onely the true *Lord of Hoſts*, able when he pleaſe's to repreſs the confidence of thoſe, that fought againſt Mee, with ſo great advantages for power and number.

From ſmall beginnings on My part hee [illegible]

M

Mee ſee that I was not wholly forſaken by My people's love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleaſed to exerciſe My patience, and teach Mee not to truſt in the arm of Fleſh, but in the living God.

My ſins ſomtimes prevailed againſt the juſtice of My cauſe: and thoſe that were with Mee wanted not matter and occaſion for his juſt chaſtiſement both of them, and Mee: Nor were My enemies leſs puniſhed by that proſperitie, which hardened them to continue that injuſtice by open hoſtilitie, which was begun by moſt riotous and unparliamentarie Tumults.

There is no doubt but perſonal and private ſins may oft-times over-balance the Juſtice of Publick engagements; nor doth God account everie gallant Man (in the world's eſteem) a fit inſtrument to aſſert in the waie of War a righteous Cauſe; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valor and ſtrength, the leſs doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glorie.

I am ſure the event or ſucceſs can never ſtate the Juſtice of anie Cauſe, nor the peace of men's Conſciences, nor the eternal fate of their Souls.

Thoſe with Mee had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Juſtification, the Word of God, and the Laws of the Land, together

with their own Oaths; all requiring obedience to My juſt Command; but to none other under Heaven without Mee, or againſt Mee, in the point of raiſing Arms.

Thoſe on the other ſide are forced to flie to the ſhifts of ſom pretended Fears, and wilde fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the preſent fabrick both of Church and State; beeing ſuch imaginarie Reaſons for ſelf-defenſ as are moſt impertinent for thoſe men to alledg, who, beeing My Subjects, were manifeſtly the firſt aſſaulters of Mee and the Laws: firſt by unſuppreſſed Tumults, after by liſted Forces. The ſame Allegations, they uſe, will fit anie Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to ſecond with the ſword all their demands againſt the preſent Laws and Governors, which can never bee ſuch as ſom ſide or other will not finde fault with, ſo as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion againſt them; ſom parafitick Preachers have dared to call thoſe *Martyrs*, who died fighting againſt Mee, the Laws, their Oaths, and the Religion Eſtabliſhed.

But ſober Chriſtians know, That glorious Title can with Truth bee applied onely to thoſe, who ſincerely preferred God's Truth and their dutie in all theſe particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in

this world; who, having no advantageous deſigns by anie Innovation, were religiouſly ſenſible of thoſe Ties to God, the Church, and My ſelf, which laie upon their Souls, both for obedience and juſt aſſiſtance.

God could, and I doubt not but hee did through his mercie, crown manie of them with eternal life, whoſe lives were loſt in ſo juſt a Cauſ; The deſtruction of their bodies being ſanctified, as a means to ſave their ſouls.

Their wounds and temporal ruine ſerving as a gratious opportunitie for their eternal health and happineſs; while the evident approach of death did, through God's grace, effectually diſpoſe their hearts to ſuch Humilitie, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their preſent engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemie's brutiſh and diſloyal fierceneſs could deprive them of; or, without Repentance, hope to enjoie.

They have often, indeed, had the better againſt My ſide in the field; but never, I believ, at the Bar of God's Tribunal, or their own Conſciences; where they are more afraid to encounter thoſe manie pregnant Reaſons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Chriſtian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuſe them *in* their own thoughts, then they oft were in a deſperate braverie, to fight againſt thoſe

Forces, which ſomtimes God gave Mee.

Whoſe condition conquered, and dying, I make no queſtion, but is infinitely more to be choſen by a ſober man, (that duely value's his dutie, his ſoul, and eternitie, beyond the enjoyments of this preſent life) then the moſt triumphant glorie, wherein their and Mine Enemies ſupervive; who can hardly avoid to bee daily tormented by that horrid guilt wherewith their ſuſpicious, or now convicted Conſciences do purſue them; eſpecially ſince they and all the world have ſeen, how falſe and un-intended thoſe pretenſions were, which they firſt ſet forth, as the onely plauſible (though not juſtifiable) grounds of raiſing War, and continuing it thus long againſt Me and the Laws eſtabliſhed; in whoſe ſafetie and preſervation all honeſt men think the welfare of their Countrie doth conſiſt.

For, and with, all which, it is far more honorable and comfortable to ſuffer, then to proſper in their ruine and ſubverſion.

I have often praied, that all on My ſide might join true pietie with the ſenſ of their Loyaltie; and bee as faithful to God and their own ſouls, as they were to Mee. That the defects of the one might not blaſt the endevours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that anie ſhews, or truths of pietie on the other ſide were ſufficient to diſpens

diſpenſ with, or expiate the defects of their Dutie and Loyaltie to Mee, which have ſo pregnant convictions on men's Conſciences, that even profaner men are mooved by the ſenſ of them to venture their Lives for Mee.

I never had anie victorie which was without My ſorrow, becauſ it was on Mine own Subjects, who, like *Abſolom*, died manie of them in their ſin: And yet I never ſuffered anie Defeat, which made Mee deſpair of God's mercie and defence.

I never deſired ſuch Victories, as might ſerv to conquer, but onely reſtore the Laws and Liberties of My People, which I ſaw were extremely oppreſſed together with My Rights by thoſe men, who were impatient of anie juſt reſtraint.

When Providence gave Mee, or denied Mee Victorie, My deſire was neither to boaſt of My power, nor to charge God fooliſhly; who I believed at laſt would make all things work together for My good.

I wiſhed no greater advantages by the War, then to bring My Enemies to moderation, and My Friends to peace.

I was affraid of the temptation of an abſolute conqueſt, and never praied more for Victorie over others, then over My ſelf. When

the first was denied, the second was granted Mee, which God saw best for Mee.

The different events were but the methods of divine Justice, by contrarie windes to winnow us: That, by punishing our sins, hee might purge them from us; and, by deferring Peace, hee might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often-Messages for Peace shewed that I delighted not in War; as My former Concessions sufficiently testified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My total unpreparedness for it, how little I intended it.

The conscience of My Innocencie forbad Mee to fear a War, but the love of My Kingdoms commanded Mee (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guiltie in this War of nothing but this, That I gave such advantages to som Men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to use with that modestie and gratitude, which became their Loyaltie and My confidence.

Had I yeelded less, I had been opposed less; had I denied more, I had been more obeied.

'Tis now too late to review the occasions of the War; I wish onely a happie conclusion of so unhappie beginnings: The inevitable

ble fate of our sins was (no doubt) such, as would no longer suffer the Divine Justice to bee quiet: wee, having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutual conquerings, to destroie one another; for, the most prosperous successes on either side impair the welfare of the whole.

Those Victories are still miserable, that leav our sins unsubdued; flushing our pride, and animating to continue Injuries.

Peace it self is not desirable, till repentance hath prepared us for it.

When wee fight more against our selvs, and less against God, wee shall ceas fighting against one another; I praie God these may all meet in our hearts, and so dispose us to an happie conclusion of these Civil Wars; that I may know better to obeie God, and govern My People; and they may learn better to obeie both God, and Mee.

Nor do I desire anie man should bee further subject to Mee, then all of us may bee subject to God.

O My God, make Mee content to bee overcom, when thou wilt have it so.

Teach Mee the noblest Victorie over My self, and My Enemies by Patience; which was Christ's Conquest, and may well becom a Christian King.

Between

Between both thy hands, the right somtime supporting, and the left afflicting, fashion us to that frame of Pietie thou likest best.

Forgive the Pride that attend's our prosperous and the repinings which follow our disastrous vents; when going forth in our own strength, thou withdraweſt thine, and goeſt not forth with our Armies.

Bee thou all, when wee are somthing, and when wee are nothing; that thou mai'ſt have the glorie when wee are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou, O Lord, knoweſt, how hard it is for Mee to suffer so much evil from My Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those evils which they compel Mee to inflict upon them, punishing My self in their punishments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a Sufferer, I beseech thee to give Mee a double portion of thy Spirit, and the measure of grace, which onely can bee sufficient for Mee.

As I am most afflicted, so make Mee most reformed, that I may bee not onely happie to see an end of these civil distractions, but a chief Instrument to restore and establish a firm and blessed Peace to My Kingdoms.

Stir up in all Parties pious ambitions to overcom each other with Reason, Moderation, and such Self-

Self-denial, as becom's those, who consider that our mutual divisions are our common distractions, and the Union of all is everie good man's chiefest interest.

If, O Lord, as for the sins of our Peace, thou hast brought upon us the miseries of War; so for the sins of War thou should'ſt see fit still to denie us the blessing of peace, and so to keep us in a circulation of miseries; yet give Mee thy Servant, and all Loyal, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoie that Peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to Mee the blood of My Subjects, which with infinite unwillingness and grief hath been shed by Mee in My just and necessarie defens; but wash Mee with that pretious blood which hath been shed for Mee by My great Peace-maker Jesus Christ: who will, I trust, redeem Mee shortly out of all My troubles: for, I know the triumphing of the Wicked is but short, and the joie of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

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20. *Upon the Reformations of the Times.*

NO Glorie is more to bee envied then that of due reforming either Church or State, when deformities are such, that the perturbation

bation and Noveltie are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God ſhould not honor Mee ſo far, as to make Mee an Inſtrument of ſo good a work, yet I ſhould bee glad to ſee it don.

As I was wel-pleaſed with this Parliament's first intentions to reform what the Indulgence of Times, and corruption of manners might have depraved; ſo I am ſorrie to ſee, after the freedom of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppreſſed, how little regard was had to the good Laws eſtabliſhed, and the Religion ſettled; which ought to bee the first Rule and *Standard* of reforming: with how much partialitie and popular compliance the paſſions and opinions of men have been gratified to the detriment of the Publick, and the infinite ſcandal of the Reformed Religion.

What diſſolutions of all Order and Government in the Church, what Novelties of Schiſms and corrupt Opinions, what undecencies and confuſions in ſacred Adminiſtrations, what ſacrilegious invaſions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church, what contempt and oppreſſions of the Clergie, what injurious diminutions and perſecutings of Mee have followed (as ſhowres do warm gleams) the talk of Reformation, all ſober men

men are Witneſſes, and (with My ſelf) ſad Spectators hitherto.

The great miſcarriage I think is, that popular clamors and furie have been allowed the reputation of Zeal and the Publick ſenſ; ſo that the ſtudie to pleaſ ſom Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, moderation, and impartialitie are ſure the beſt tempers of reforming Councels and endevours: what is acted by Factions cannot but offend more then it pleaſeth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church-affairs and Religion to the free conſultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly choſen; the reſults of whoſe Counſels as they would have included the Votes of all, ſo 'its like they would have giv'n moſt ſatisfaction to all.

The Aſſemblie of Divines, whom the two Houſes have applied (in an unwonted waie) to adviſe of Church-affairs, I diſlike not further, then that they are not legally convened and choſen; nor Act in the name of all the Clergie of *England*, nor with freedom and impartialitie can do anie thing, beeing limited and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think ſo manie men cried up for learning and pietie, who formerly allowed the Liturgie and Government of the Church of

of *England*, as to the main, would have so suddenly agree'd quite to abolish both of them, (the last of which, they knew to bee of Apostolical institution, at least; as of Primitive and Universal practice) if they had been left to the libertie of their own suffrages, & if influence of contrarie Factions had not by secret encroachments of hopes and fears, prevailed upon them, to complie with so great and dangerous Innovations in the Church; without anie regard to their own former judgment and practice, or to the common interest and honor of all the Clergie; and, in them, of Order, Learning and Religion, against examples of all Antient Churches, the Laws in force, and My consent; which is never to bee gained against so pregnant light, as in that point shin'es on My understanding.

For I conceiv, that where the Scripture is not so clear and punctual in precepts, there the Constant and Universal practice of the Church, in things not contrarie to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or anie positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant or restore to Presbyterie what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacie; but, for all that, wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate and quite abrogate

rogate the Autoritie of that Antient Order, I think neither just as to Episcopacie, nor safe for Presbyterie, nor yet anie waie convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had easily followed moderate Counsils, and such (I beleev) as would have giv'n more content even to the most of those Divines who have been led on with much Gravitie and Formalitie, to carrie on other men's designs; which, no doubt, manie of them by this time discover, though they dare not but smother their frustrations and discontents.

The specious and popular titles of *Christ's Government*, *Throne*, *Scepter*, and *Kingdom*, (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their Parties now have, at least) also the noise of a thorow-Reformation, may as easily bee fixed on new models, as fair colors may bee put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windows, which Time had sufficiently defaced; pulling down of Crosses, which were but civil, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments and Inscriptions of the Dead, which served but to put Posteritie in minde to thank God for that clearer light wherein they live: The leaving of all Ministers to their liberties and private abilities in the publick service of God, where

no

no Christian can tell to what hee may saie *Amen*; nor what adventure hee may make of seeming (at least) to consent to the Errors, Blasphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men list to vent in their Praiers, Preaching, and other Offices: The setting forth also of old Catechisms and Confessions of Faith new drest, importing as much as if there had been no sound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before som four or five years consultation had matured their thoughts, touching their first Principles of Religion:

All these, and the like, are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitful Reformations, (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) and may give som short flashes of content to the Vulgar, who are taken with Novelties as Children with Babies, verie much, but not verie long. But all this amount's not to, nor can in Justice merit the glorie of the Churche's thorow-Reformation; since they leav all things more deformed, disorderlie, and discontented, then when they began. In point of Pietie, Moralitie, Charitie, good Order.

Nor can they easily recompens or remedie the inconveniences and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have and ever will necessarily ensue, till due remedies bee applied.

I wish

I wish they would, at last, make it their Unanimous work to do God's work, and not their own: Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But som men thought that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so manie Laws and long Customs, would not run into their new moulds till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civil War; by the advantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make My self and all My Subjects fall down and worship the Images they should form and set up: If there had been as much of *Christ*'s *Spirit* for meekness, wisdom, and charitie, in men's hearts, as there was of his *Name* used in the pretensions, to reform all to *Christ*'s *Rule*, it would certainly have obteined more of God's blessing, and produced more of Christ's Glorie, the Churche's Good, the Honor of Religion, and the Unitie of Christians.

Publick Reformers had need first Act in private, and practice that on their own hearts which they purpose to trie on others; for Deformities within will soon betraie the Pretenders of publick Reformations to such private designs as must needs hinder the Publick good.

I am sure the right Methods of Reforming

the Church cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civil State; nor can Religon bee justly advanced by depressing Loyaltie, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients and Ornaments of true Religion; for, next to *Fear God*, is, *Honor the King*.

I doubt not but Christ's Kingdom may bee set up without pulling down Mine; nor will anie men in impartial times appear good Christians, that approov not themselvs good Subjects.

Christ's Government will confirm Mine, not overthrow it; since as I own Mine from Him, so I desire to rule for his Glorie, and his Churche's good.

Had som men truly intended *Christ's Government*, or knew what it meant in their hearts, they could never have been so ill-governed in their words and actions, both against Mee and one another.

As good ends cannot justifie evil means; so nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions; unless God, by a miracle of Mercie, create Light out of Darkness, Order out of our Confusions, and Peace out of our Passions.

Thou, O Lord, who onely can'st give us beautie for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie; suffer us not to bee miserably deluded with Pharisaical washings,

washings, in stead of Christian Reformings.

Our greatest deformities are within; make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our own souls:

That wee may in clearness of Judgment, and uprightness of heart bee means to reform what is indeed amiss in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right spirits within us; that wee may do all by thy directions, to thy Glorie, and with thy Blessing.

Pittie the deformities which som rash and cruel Reformers have brought upon this Church and State: Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretens of Reforming.

As thou hast shewed the world, by their divisions and confusions, what is the pravitie of som men's intentions, and weakness of their judgments; so bring us at last more refined out of these fires, by the methods of Christian and charitable Reformations; wherein nothing of Ambition, Revenge, Covetousness, or Sacriledg, may have anie influence upon their counsels, whom thy Providence in just and lawful waies shall entrust with so great, good, and now most necessarie work: that I and My People may bee so bless'd with inward Pietie, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward Peace.

21. *Upon His Majeſtie's Letters taken and divulged.*

THe taking of My Letters was an opportunitie, which, as the malice of Mine Enemies could hardly have exſpected it, ſo, they knew not how with Honor and Civilitie to uſe: Nor do I think, with ſober and worthie mindes, anie thing in them could tend ſo much to My reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamie of the Divulgers: The greateſt experiments of Virtue and Nobleneſs beeing diſcovered in the greateſt advantages againſt an enemie; and the greateſt obligations beeing thoſe, which are put upon us by them, from whom wee could leaſt have exſpected them.

And ſuch I ſhould have eſteemed the concealing of My Papers; The freedom and ſecreſie of which command's a civilitie from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there anie thing more inhumane then to expoſe them to Publick view.

Yet ſince Providence will have it ſo, I am content ſo much of My heart (which I ſtudie to approov to God's omniſcience) ſhould be diſcovered to the world, without anie of thoſe dreſſes or popular captations which ſom men uſe in their Speeches and Expreſſes; I wiſh My Subjects had yet a clearer ſight into My moſt retired thoughts.

Where they might diſcover how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preſerv My own Rights, then to procure their Peace and Happineſs; and that extreme grief to ſee them both Deceived and Deſtroied.

Nor can anie men's malice bee gratified further by My Letters, then to ſee My conſtancie to My Wife, the Laws, and Religion. Bees will gather Honie, where the Spider ſuck's Poiſon.

That I endevour to avoid the preſſures of My Enemies, by all fair and juſt correſpondencies, no man can blame, who love's Mee, or the Common-wealth; ſince My Subjects can hardly bee happie, if I bee miſerable; or enjoie their Peace and Liberties, while I am oppreſſed.

The world may ſee how ſom men's deſign, like *Abſolom*'s, is, by enormous actions, to widen differences, and to exaſperate all ſides to ſuch diſtances, as may make all reconciliation deſperate.

Yet, I thank God, I can not onely with Patience bear this, as other indignities; but with Charitie forgive them.

The integritie of My intentions is not jea-

lous of anie injurie, My expreſſions can do them; for although the confidence of privacie may admit greater freedom in writing ſuch Letters, which may bee liable to envious exceptions; yet the Innocencie of My chief purpoſes cannot bee ſo ſtained, or miſ-interpreted by them, as not to let all men ſee, that I wiſh nothing more then an happie compoſure of differences with Juſtice and Honor, not more to My own, then My People's content, who have anie ſparks of Love or Loyaltie left in them: who, by thoſe My Letters, may bee convinced, that I can both minde and Act Mine own, and My Kingdom's Affairs, ſo as becom's a Prince; which Mine Enemies have alwaies been verie loth ſhould bee believed of Mee; as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others, whom they pleaſ to brand with the names of *Evil Counſeliors*.

It's probable ſom men will now look upon Mee as My own Counſellor; and, having none elſ to quarrel with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to My ſelf: Although I know they are verie unwilling I ſhould enjoie that libertie of My own Thoughts, or follow that light of My own Conſcience, which they labor to bring into an abſolute captivitie to themſelvs; not allowing Mee to think their Counſels to bee other

other then good for Mee, which have ſo long maintained a War againſt Mee.

The Victorie they obteined that daie, when My letters became their prize, had been enough to have ſatiated the moſt ambitious thirſt of Popular glorie among the Vulgar; with whom Proſperitie gain's the greateſt eſteem and applauſ; as Adverſitie expoſeth to their greateſt ſlighting and diſ-reſpect: As if good fortune were alwaies the ſhadow of Virtue and Juſtice, and did not oft'ner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I ſee no ſecular advantages ſeem ſufficient to that Cauſ, which began with Tumults, and depend's chiefly upon the reputation with the Vulgar.

They think no Victories ſo effectual to their deſigns as thoſe, that moſt rout and waſte My Credit with My people; in whoſe hearts they ſeek by all means to ſmother and extinguiſh all ſparks of Love, Reſpect, and Loyaltie to Mee, that they may never kindle again, ſo as to recover Mine, the Law's, and the Kingdom's Liberties, which ſom men ſeek to overthrow: The taking away of My Credit is but a neceſſarie preparation to the taking away of My Life, and My Kingdoms; Firſt I muſt ſeem neither fit to Live, nor worthie to Reign; by exquiſite methods of cunning and crueltie, I muſt bee compelled, firſt,

to follow the Funerals of My Honor, and then bee deſtroied: But I know God's unerring and impartial Juſtice can, and will over-rule the moſt perverſ wills and deſigns of men; Hee is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worſt of Mine Enemie's thoughts and actions to My good.

Nor do I think, that by the ſurprize of My Letters, I have loſt anie more then ſo manie Papers: How much they have loſt of that reputation, for Civilitie and Humanitie (which ought to bee paï'd to all men, and moſt becom's ſuch as pretend to Religion) beſides that of Reſpect and Honor, which they owe to their KING, preſent, and after-times will judg. And I cannot think that their own Conſciences are ſo ſtupid, as not to inflict upon them ſom ſecret impreſſions of that ſhame and diſhonor, which attend's all unworthie actions, have they never ſo much of Publick flatterie, and Popular countenance.

I am ſure they can never exſpect the Divine Approbation of ſuch indecent actions, if they do but remember how God bleſs'd the modeſt reſpect and filial tenderneſs which *Noah*'s Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmitie juſtifie *Cham*'s impudencie, or exempt him from that curſ of beeing *Servant of ſervants*; which curſ muſt needs bee on them who ſeek by diſtonorable actions to pleaſ the

the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts their dependence upon the People.

Nor can their malitious intentions bee ever either excuſable, or proſperous, who thought, by this means, to expoſe Mee to the higheſt reproach and contempt of My People; forgetting that Dutie of modeſt concealment, which they owed to the *Father* of their *Countrie*, in caſe they had diſcovered anie real uncomlineſs; which, I thank God, they did not; who can, and, I believ, hath made Mee (as hee did *David*) more reſpected in the hearts of manie, to whom they thought, by publiſhing My private Letters, to have rendred Mee as *a vile Perſon*, not fit to bee truſted, or conſidered, under anie notion of Majeſtie.

But thou, O Lord, whoſe wiſe and all-diſpoſing providence ordereth the greateſt contingences of humane affairs, make Mee to ſee the conſtancie of thy Mercies to Mee, in the greateſt advantages thou ſeemeſt to give the malice of My Enemies againſt Mee.

As thou did'ſt blaſt the counſel of Achitophel, *turning it to* David's *good, and his own ruine; ſo can'ſt thou defeat their deſign, who intended by publiſhing My private letters, nothing elſ, but to render Mee more odious & contemptible to My people.*

I muſt firſt appeal to thy Omniſcience, who

can'ſt

can'ſt witneſs with My integritie, how unjuſt and falſ thoſe ſcandalous miſ-conſtructions are, which My enemies endewour by thoſe Papers of Mine to repreſent to the world.

Make the evil they imagined, and diſpleaſure they intended thereby, againſt Mee, ſo to return on their own heads, that they may bee aſhamed, and covered with their own confuſion, as with a Cloak.

Thou ſee'ſt how Mine Enemies uſe all means to cloud Mine Honor, to pervert My purpoſes, and to ſlander the footſteps of thine Annointed.

But give Mee an heart content to bee diſhonored for thy ſake, and thy Churche's good.

Fix in Mee a purpoſe to honor thee, and then I know thou wilt honor Mee; either by reſtoring to Mee the enjoiment of that Power and Majeſtie, which thou haſt ſuffered ſom men to ſeek to deprive Mee of; or by beſtowing on Mee that crown of Chriſtian patience, which know's how to ſerv thee in honor, or diſhonor, in good report, or evil.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodneſs and honor; thou art clothed with excellent Majeſtie: make Mee to partake of thy excellencie for wiſdom, juſtice, and mercie, and I ſhall not want that degree of Honor and Majeſtie, which becom's the Place in which thou haſt ſet Mee; who art the lifter up of My head, and My ſalvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead mee to thy Glorie, which is both true, and eternal.

22. Upo

22. *Upon His Majeſtie's leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

ALthough God hath giv'n Mee three Kingdoms, yet in theſe Hee hath not now left Mee anie place, where I may with Safetie and Honor reſt My Head: Shewing Mee that himſelf is the ſafeſt Refuge, and the ſtrongeſt Tower of Defenſ, in which I may put My Truſt.

In theſe extremities I look not to man ſo much, as to God; Hee will not have it thus; that I may wholly caſt my ſelf, and My now diſtreſſed Affairs upon his Mercie, who hath both the hearts and hands of all men in his diſpoſe.

What Providence denie's to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Neceſſitie is now My Counſellor, and command's Mee to ſtudie My ſafetie by a diſguiſed withdrawing from My chiefeſt ſtrength, and adventuring upon their Loyaltie, who firſt began My Troubles. Haply God may make them a means honorably to compoſe them.

This My confidence of Them, may diſ-arm and overcom Them: My rend'ring My Perſon to Them may engage their Affections to Mee, who have oft profeſſed, *They fought not againſt Mee, but for Mee.*

I muſt

I must now resolv the riddle of their Loyaltie; and give them opportunitie to let the world see, they mean not what they do, but what they saie.

Yet must God bee My chiefest Guard; and My Conscience both My Counsellor and My Comforter: Though I put My Bodie into their hands, yet I shall reserv My Soul to God, and My self: nor shall anie necessities compel Mee to desert Mine Honor, or swerv from My Judgment.

What they sought to take by Force, shall now bee giv'n them in such a waie of unusual Confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to bee really such, as they ought, and professed to bee.

God see's it not enough to deprive Me of all Militarie power to defend My self; but to put Me upon using their power, who seem to fight against Me, yet ought in Dutie to defend Me.

So various are all humane affairs, and so necessitous may the state of Princes bee, that their greatest danger may bee in their supposed safetie, and their safetie in their supposed danger.

I must now leav those that have Adhered to Mee, and applie to those that have Opposed Mee; this method of Peace may bee more prosperous then that of War, both to stop the effusion of blood, and to close those wounds alreadie

alreadie made: and in it I am no less solicitous for My Friend's safetie, then Mine own; chusing to venture My self upon further hazards, rather then expose their resolute Loyaltie to all extremities.

It is som skill in plaie to know when a game is lost; better fairly to give over, then to contest in vain.

I must now studie to re-inforce My judgment, and fortifie My minde with Reason and Religion; that I may not seem to offer up My Soul's libertie, or make My Conscience their Captive; who ought at first to have used Arguments, not Arms, to have perswaded My Consent to their New Demands.

I thank God, no succes darken's, or disguise's Truth to Mee; and I shall no less conform My words to My inward dictates now, then if they had been, as the words of a King ought to bee among Loyal Subjects, *full of power*.

Reason is the divinest power. I shall never think My self weak'ned while I may make full and free use of that. No eclips of outward fortune shall rob Mee of that light; what God hath denied of outward strength, his grace, I hope, will supplie with inward resolutions; not morosely to denie, what is fit to bee granted; but not to grant anie thing, which Reason and Religion bid Mee denie.

I shall never think My self less then My self while

while I am able thus to preserv the Integritie of My Conscience, the onely jewel now left Mee, which is worth keeping.

O Thou Sovereign of our Souls, the onely commander of our Consciences; though I know not what to do, yet Mine eies are towards thee: To the protection of thy Mercie I still commmend My self.

As Thou hast preserved Mee in the daie of Battel; so Thou can'st still shew Mee Thy strength in My weakness.

Bee Thou unto Mee in My darkest night, a Pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct Mee; in the daie of My hotteſt affliction, bee also a Pillar of Cloud to over-shadow and protect Mee; bee to Mee both Sun and a Shield.

Thou knowest, that it is not anie perverseness of Will, but just perswasions of Honor, Reason, and Religion, which have made Mee thus far to hazard My person, Peace, and Safetie, against Those that by force have sought to wrest them from Mee.

Suffer not My just resolutions to abate with My outward Forces; let a good Conscience alwaies accompanie Mee, in My solitude and desertions.

Suffer Mee not to betraie the powers of Reason, and that fortress of My Soul, which I am entrusted with to keep for Thee.

Lead

Lead Mee in the paths of thy Righteousness, and shew Mee thy Salvation.

Make My waies to pleas thee, and then thou wilt make Mine Enemies to bee at peace with Mee.

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23. *Upon the* Scot's *delivering the* King *to the* Englisch; *and His Captivitie at* Holmbie.

YEt may I justifie those *Scots* to all the World in this, That they have not deceived Mee; for I never trusted to them further then to men: if I am sold by them, I am onely sorrie they should do it; and that My price should bee so much above My Saviour's.

These are but further Essaies, which God will have Mee make of man's uncertaintie; the more to fix Mee on himself, who *never faileth them that trust in him*: Though the Reeds of *Egypt* break under the hand of him that lean's on them; yet the Rock of *Israël* will bee an everlasting staie and defens.

God's Providence command's Mee to retire from all to himself, that in him I may enjoie My self; whom I lose, while I let out My hopes to others.

The solitude and captivitie, to which I am now reduced, give's Mee leasure enough to studie the world's vanitie and inconstancie.

God

God ſee's 'tis fit to deprive Mee of Wife Children, Armie, Friends, and Freedom, that I may bee wholly his, who alone is All.

I care not much to bee reckoned among the *Unfortunate*, if I bee not in the black Liſt of irreligious and ſacrilegious Princes.

No Reſtraint ſhall enſnare My Soul in ſin nor gain that of Mee, which may make My Enemies more inſolent, My Friends aſhamed or My Name accurſed.

They have no great cauſ to triumph, that they have got My Perſon into their power ſince My Soul is ſtill My own: nor ſhall they ever gain My Conſent againſt My Conſcience.

What they call Obſtinacie, I know God accounts honeſt Conſtancie; from which Reaſon and Religion, as well as Honor, forbid Mee to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil-Counſellors with Mee, but a good Conſcience in Mee, which hath been fought againſt; nor did they ever intend to bring Mee to My Parliament, till they had brought My minde to their obedience.

Should I grant what ſom men deſire, I ſhould bee ſuch as they wiſh Mee: not more a King, and far leſs both Man and Chriſtian.

What tumults and Armies could not obtein, neither ſhall Reſtraint; which though it

have as little of ſafetie to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men ſhall never bee My ſnare; nor ſhall the love of anie libertie entangle My ſoul: Better others betraie Mee, then My ſelf; and that the price of My Libertie ſhould bee My Conſcience: The greateſt injuries My Enemies ſeek to inflict upon Mee cannot bee without My own conſent.

While I can denie with Reaſon, I ſhall defeat the greateſt impreſſions of their malice, who neither know how to uſe worthily what I have alreadie granted; nor what to require more of Mee but this, That I would ſeem willing to help them to deſtroie My ſelf and Mine.

Although they ſhould Deſtroie Mee, yet they ſhall have no cauſ to Deſpiſe Mee.

Neither libertie, nor life are ſo dear to Mee, as the peace of My Conſcience, the Honor of My Crowns, and the welfare of My People; which My Word may injure more then anie War can do, while I gratifie a few to oppreſs all.

The Laws will, by God's bleſſing, revive, with the love and Loyaltie of My ſubjects; if I burie them not by My Conſent, and cover them in that grave of diſhonor and injuſtice, which ſom men's violence hath digged for them.

If My captivitie, or death muſt bee the price of their redemption, I grudg not to paie it.

No condition can make a King miſerable, which carrie's not with it his ſoul's, his People's, and Poſteritie's thraldom.

After-times may ſee, what the blindeneſs of this Age will not; and God may at length ſhew My Subjects, that I chuſe rather to ſuffer for them, then with them; haply I might redeem My ſelf to ſom ſhew of libertie, if I would conſent to enſlave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, then confirm manie Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becom's of Mee, whoſe ſolitude hath not left Mee alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely-good, and great, art with Mee; whoſe preſence is better then life, and whoſe ſervice is perfect freedom.

Own Mee for thy Servant, and I ſhall never have cauſ to complain for want of that libertie, which becom's a Man, a Chriſtian, and a King.

Bleſs Mee ſtill with Reaſon, as a Man; with Religion, as a Chriſtian; and with Conſtancie in Juſtice, as a King.

Though Thou ſuffereſt Mee to bee ſtript of all outward ornaments; yet preſerv Mee ever in thoſe enjoiments, wherein I may enjoie thy ſelf; and which cannot bee taken from Mee against My will.

Let no fire of affliction boil over My paſsion to anie impatience, or ſordid fears.

There bee manie ſaie of Mee, There is no help for Mee: do Thou lift up the Light of thy Countenance upon Mee, and I ſhall neither want Safetie, Libertie, nor Majeſtie.

Give Mee that meaſure of Patience and conſtancie, which My condition now require's.

My ſtrength is ſcattered, My exſpectation from Men defeated, my Perſon reſtrained: O bee not Thou far from Mee, leſt my Enemies prevail too much againſt Mee.

I am becom a wonder, and a ſcorn to manie: O bee Thou My Helper and Defendor.

Shew ſom token upon Mee for good, that they, that hate Mee, may bee aſhamed, becauſ thou Lord haſt holpen and comforted Mee: eſtabliſh Mee with thy free Spirit that I may do and ſuffer thy Will, as thou would'ſt have Mee.

Bee merciful to Mee, O Lord, for my Soul truſteth in Thee: yea, and in the ſhadow of thy wings will I make My refuge until theſe calamities bee over-paſt.

Ariſe to deliver Mee, make no long tarrying, O My God. Though Thou killeſt Mee, yet will I truſt in Thy Mercie, and My Saviour's Merit.

I know that My Redeemer liveth; though Thou leadeſt Mee through the vale and ſhadow of death, yet ſhall I fear none ill.

24. *Upon their denying His Majestie the Attendence of His Chaplains.*

WHen Providence was pleased to deprive Mee of all other civil comforts and secular Attendents, I thought the absence of them all might best bee supplied by the attendence of som of My Chaplains; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelitie I have caus to love. By their Learning, Pietie, and Praiers, I hoped to bee either better enabled to sustein the want of all other enjoiments, or better fitted for the recoverie and use of them in God's good time: so reaping, by their pious help, a spiritual harvest of Grace amid'st the thorns, and after the plowings of temporal crosses.

The truth is, I never needed, or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously-pious, and soberly-devout.

The solitude, they have confined Mee unto, add's the Wilderness to My temptations; For the companie they obtrude upon Mee is more sad then anie solitude can bee.

If I had asked My Revenues, My power of the *Militia*, or anie one of My Kingdoms, it had

had been no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evil policie of men forbid's all just restitution, lest they should confess an injurious usurpation: But to denie Mee the Ghostlie comfort of My Chaplains seem's a greater rigor and barbaritie, then is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners and greatest Malefactors; whom though the Justice of the Law deprive's of worldlie comforts; yet the Mercie of Religion allow's them the benefit of their Clergie; as not aiming at once to destroie their Bodies, and to damn their Souls.

But My Agonie must not bee relieved with the presence of anie one good Angel; for such I account a Learned, Godlie, and Discreet Divine: and such I would have all Mine to bee.

They that envie My beeing a King, are loth I should bee a Christian: while they seek to deprive Mee of all things elf, They are afraid I should save My Soul.

Other sens Charitie it self can hardly pick out of those manie harsh Repulses I received, as to that Request so often made for the attendence of som of My Chaplains.

I have somtime thought the Unchristianness of those denials might arise from a displeasure som men had to see Mee prefer My own Divines before their Ministers: whom though

though I respect them for that worth and pietie which may bee in them, yet I cannot think so proper for anie present Comforters, or Physicians; who have (som of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon Mee.

Nor are the sobereſt of them so apt for that Devotional compliance and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those Holie Offices, to bee performed with Mee, and for Mee; since, their judgements standing at a distance from Mee, or in jealousie of Mee, or in opposition against Mee, their Spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with Mine, or Mine with their's, either in Praier, or other Holie Duties, as is meet, and most comfortable; whose golden Rule, and bond of Perfection consist's in that of mutual Love and Charitie.

Som Remedies are worse then the Disease, and som Comforters more miserable then Miserie it self; when, like *Job*'s friends, they seek not to fortifie one's minde with patience, but perswade a man, by betraying his own Innocencie, to despair of God's Mercie; and, by justifying their injuries, to strengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of insolent Enemies.

I am so much a Friend to all Church-men, that have anie thing in them beseeming the Sacred

Sacred Function, that I have hazarded My own Interest, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancie, to maintain their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the Sacrilegious eies of manie cruel and rapacious Reformers; so I thought it My Dutie the more to appear as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am verie unhandsomly requited by som of them, who may live to repent no less for My sufferings, then their own ungrateful errors, and that injurious contempt and meanness, which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pittie all of them, I despise none: onely I thought I might have leav to make choise of som for My special Attendents, who were best approoved in My judgement, and most suitable to My affection. For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no men's praiers, then to bee forced, or seem to complie with those Petitions, to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue saie *Amen*, without contradicting a man's own understanding, or belying his own soul.

In Devotions, I love neither Profane boldness, nor Pious non-sens; but such an humble and judicious gravitie, as shew's the Speaker to bee at once considerate of Gods Majestie, the Churche's Honor, and his own Vileness;

neſs; both knowing what things God allow's him to ask, and in what manner it becom's a Sinner to ſupplicate the divine Mercie for himſelf, and others.

I am equally ſcandalized with all praiers, that ſound either imperiouſly, or rudely, or paſſionately; as either wanting Humilitie to God, or Charitie to men, or Reſpect to the Dutie.

I confeſs I am better pleaſed, as with ſtudied and premeditated Sermons; ſo with ſuch publick Forms of Praier, as are fitted to the Churche's and everie Chriſtian's dailie and common neceſſities; becauſ I am by them better aſſured, what I may join My heart unto, then I can bee of anie man's extemporarie ſufficiencie; which as I do not wholly exclude from Publick occaſions; ſo I allow its juſt libertie and uſe in private and devout retirements; where neither the ſolemnitie of the Dutie, nor the modeſt regard to others, do require ſo great exactneſs, as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of underſtanding, and the fervencie of affection, I hold the main and moſt neceſſarie requiſites both in conſtant and occaſional, ſolitarie and ſocial Devotions;

So that I muſt needs ſeem to all equal mindes with as much Reaſon to prefer the ſervice of My own Chaplains before that of their

their Miniſters, as I do the Liturgie before their Directorie.

In the one, I have been alwaies educated and exerciſed; in the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted: And, if I were, yet ſhould I not by that, as by anie certain Rule and Canon of Devotion, bee able to follow or finde out the indirect extravagancies of moſt of thoſe men, who highly crie up that as a piece of rare compoſure and uſe, which is alreadie as much deſpiſed and diſuſed by manie of them, as the Common-Praier ſometimes was by thoſe men, a great part of whoſe pietie hung upon that popular pin of railing againſt, and contemning the Government and Liturgie of this Church. But I had rather bee condemned to the wo of *Væ ſoli*, then to that of *Væ vobis, Hypocritæ*, by ſeeming to praie what I do not approov.

It may bee, I am eſteemed by My Deniers ſufficient of My ſelf to diſcharge My dutie to GOD as a Prieſt; though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regal and Sacerdotal, might well becom the ſame Perſon; as antiently they were under one name, & the united rights of Primogeniture: Nor could I follow better preſidents, if I were able, then thoſe two eminent Kings, *David*, and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns,

Crowns, then one was for devout Pſalms and Praiers; the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and aſſumed the name of a Prophet; the other, of a Preacher: Titles indeed of greater honor, where rightly placed, then anie of thoſe the Romane Emperors affected from the Nations they ſubdued: it beeing infinitely more glòrious to convert Souls to God's Church by the Word, then to conquer men to a ſubjection by the Sword.

Yet ſince the order of God's Wiſdom and Providence hath, for the moſt part, alwaies diſtinguiſhed the gifts and offices of Kings and Prieſts, of Princes and Preachers, both in the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Churches; I am ſorrie to finde My ſelf reduced to the neceſſitie of beeing both, or enjoying neither.

For ſuch, as ſeek to deprive Mee of My Kinglie Power and Sovereigntie, would no leſs enforce Mee to live manie Months without all Praiers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unleſs I becom My own Chaplain.

As I ów the Clergie the protection of a Chriſtian King; ſo I deſire to enjoie from them the benefit of their gifts and praiers; which I look upon as more prevalent then My own, or other men's; by how much they flow from mindes more enlightned, and affections leſs diſtracted, then thoſe which are encomb'red

encomb'red with Secular Affairs: beſides, I think a greater bleſſing and acceptableneſs attend's thoſe Duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that Calling, to which God and the Church have ſpecially deſigned and Conſecrated ſom men: And however, as to that Spiritual Government, by which the devout Soul is ſubject to Chriſt, and through his Merits daily offer's it ſelf and it's ſervices to God, everie private believer is a King and Prieſt, inveſted with the honor of a Royal Prieſt-hood; yet, as to Eccleſiaſtical Order, and the outward Politie of the Church, I think Confuſion in Religion will as certainly follow everie man's turning Prieſt, or Preacher, as it will in the State, where everie one affect's to rule as King.

I was alwaies bred to more modeſt, and, I think, more pious Principles: the conſciouſneſs to My ſpiritual defects make's Mee more prize and deſire thoſe pious aſſiſtances, which holie and good Miniſters, either Biſhops or Presbyters, may afford Mee; eſpecially in theſe extremities, to which God hath been pleaſed to ſuffer ſom of My Subjects to reduce Mee; ſo as to leav them nothing more, but My life to take from Mee; and to leav Mee nothing to deſire, which I thought might leſs provoke their jealouſie and offenſ to denie Mee, then this of having ſom means afforded

ded Mee for My soul's comfort and suppor

To which end I made choiſ of men, as n
waie (that I know) ſcandalous; ſo everie wa
eminent for their Learning and Pietie, no le
then for their Loyaltie: nor can I imagine a
exceptions to bee made againſt them but on
ly this, That they may ſeem too able and to
wel-affected toward Mee and My ſervice.

But this is not the firſt ſervice (as I count
the beſt) in which they have forced Mee
ſerv My ſelf; though I muſt confeſs I be
with more grief and impatience the want
My Chaplains, then of anie other My Se
vants; and next (if not beyond in ſom thing
to the beeing ſequeſtred from My Wife a
Children; ſince from theſe, indeed, more
humane and temporarie affections; but fro
thoſe, more of heavenlie and eternal im
proovments may bee exſpected.

My comfort is, that in the enforced (n
neglected) want of ordinarie means, God
wont to afford extraordinarie ſupplies of h
gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach Mee and help M
Infirmities in praier, reading and meditatio
(as I hope hee will) I ſhall need no other,
ther Orator, or Inſtructer.

*To Thee therefore, O My God, do I dir
My now-ſolitarie praiers; what I want
othe*

other's help, ſupplie with the more immediate aſſiſtances of thy Spirit; which alone can both enlighten My darkneſs, and quicken My dulneſs.

O thou Sun of Righteouſneſs, thou ſacred Fountain of heavenlie light and heat, at once clear and warm My heart, both by inſtructing of Mee, and interceding for Mee: In thee is all fulneſs; from thee is al-ſufficiencie; by thee is all acceptance. Thou art companie enough, and comfort enough: Thou art My King, bee alſo My Prophet, and My Prieſt: Rule Mee, Teach Mee, Praie in Mee, for Mee; and bee thou ever with Mee.

The ſingle wreſtlings of Jacob *prevailed with thee, in that ſacred Duel, when hee had none to ſecond him but thy ſelf; who did'ſt aſſiſt him with power to overcom thee, and by a welcom violence to wreſt a bleſsing from thee.*

O Look on Mee thy Servant, in infinite mercie, whom thou did'ſt once bleſs with the joint and ſociated Devotions of others; whoſe fervencie might inflame the coldneſs of My Affections towards thee, when wee went to, or met in thy Houſ, with the voice of joie and gladneſs, worſhipping thee in the Unitie of ſpirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O Forgive the neglect, and not improoving of thoſe happie opportunities.

It is now thy pleaſure that I ſhould bee as a Pelican in the wilderneſs; as a Sparrow on the houſ top; and as a coal ſcattered from all thoſe pious

glowings,

glowings, and devout reflections, which might best kindle, preserv, and increas the holie fire of thy graces on the Altar of My heart, whence the Sacrifice of Praiers, and Incens of Praises, might bee duly offered up to thee.

Yet, O thou that breakest not the bruised Reed, nor quenchest the smoaking Flax, do not despise the weakness of My Praiers, nor the smothering of My Soul in this uncomfortable loneness; to which I am constrained by som men's uncharitable denials of those helps, which I much want, and lesse desire.

O Let the hardness of their hearts occasion the softnings of Mine to thee, and for Them. Let their Hatred kindle My Love; let their unreasonable denials of My Religious desires the more excite My praiers to thee. Let their inexorable deafness incline thine ear to Mee; who art a God easie to bee entreated; thine ear is not heavie, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not hear; nor thy hand short'ned, that it cannot help Mee thy desolate Suppliant.

Thou permittest men to deprive Mee of the outward means, which thou hast appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debar Mee from the communion of that inward grace, which thou breathest into humble hearts.

O make Mee such, and thou wilt teach Mee; thou wilt hear Mee; thou wilt help Mee: The broken and contrite heart, I know, thou wilt not despise.

Thou, O Lord, can'st at once make Mee thy Temple, thy Priest, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up, in holie meditations, fervent praiers, and unfeined tears, My self to thee; who prepares Mee for thee, dwellest in Mee, and acceptest of Mee.

Thou, O Lord, did'st caus, by secret supplies and miraculous infusions, that the handful of meal in the vessel should not spend; nor the little oil in the cruis fail the Widow, during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on My soul, which, as a Widow, is now desolate and forsaken: let not those saving Truths, I have formerly learned, now fail My memorie; nor the sweet effusions of thy Spirit, which I Have somtime felt, now bee wanting to My Heart, in this famine of ordinarie and wholsom food, for the refreshing of My Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuse, then to feed from those hands who mingle My bread with ashes, and My wine with gall; rather tormenting, then teaching Mee; whose mouths are proner to bitter reproaches of Mee, then to heartie praiers for Mee.

Thou knowest, O Lord of Truth, how oft they wrest thy Holie Scriptures to My destruction, which are clear for their subjection, and My preservation: O let it not bee to their damnation.

Thou knowest how som men, under color of long praiers, have sought to devour the houses of their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O Let

O Let not those men's balms break My head; nor their Cordials oppres My heart; I will evermore praie against their wickedness.

From the poison under their tongues, from the snares of their lips, from the fire, and the swords of their words ever deliver Mee, O Lord, and all those Loyal and Religious hearts, who desire and delight in the prosperitie of My soul, and who seek by their praiers to reliev this sadness and solitude of thy servant, O My King, and My God.

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25. Penitential Meditations and Vows in the KING's solitude at *Holmbie*.

GIve ear to My words, O Lord, consider My Meditation; and hearken to the voice of My crie, My King and My God, for unto Thee will I praie.

I said, in My haste, I am cast out of the sight of thine eies; nevertheless thou hearest the voice of My supplication, when I crie unto Thee.

If thou Lord should'st bee extreme to mark what is don amiss, who can abide it? But there is Mercie with Thee that Thou maiest bee feared; therefore shall sinners flie unto Thee.

I acknowledg My sins before Thee, which have the aggravation of My condition, the eminence of My Place adding weight to My offenses.

Forgive

Forgive, I beseech thee, My Personal and My People's sins; which are so far Mine, as I have not improoved the power thou gavest Mee, to thy glorie, and My Subject's good: Thou hast now brought Mee from the glorie and freedom of a King to bee a Prisoner to My own Subjects: Justly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, becaus in manie things I have rebelled against thee.

Though Thou hast restrained My Person, yet enlarge My heart to thee, and thy grace towards Mee.

I com far short of David's *pietie; yet since I may equal* David's *afflictions, give Mee also the comforts and the sure mercies of* David.

Let the penitent sens I have of My sins, bee an evidence to Mee, that thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and My Kingdoms have suffered, seem little unto thee; though thou hast not punished us according to our sins.

Turn thee (O Lord) unto Mee; have mercie upon Mee, for I am desolate and afflicted.

The sorrows of My heart are enlarged; O bring thou Mee out of My troubles.

Hast thou forgotten to bee gracious, and shut up thy loving kindeness in displeasure?

O remember thy compassions of old, and thy loving kindenesses, which have been for manie generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not beleeved to see thy goodness in the land of the living.

Let not the sins of our prosperitie deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fierie trial consume the dross, which in long peace and plentie wee had contracted.

Though thou continuest miseries, yet withdraw not thy grace: what is wanting of prosperitie, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger bee not yet to bee turned away, but thy hand of justice must bee stretched out still; Let it, I beseech thee, bee against Mee, and My Fathers hous; as for these sheep, what have they don?

Let My sufferings satiate the malice of Mine, and thy Churche's enemies.

But let their crueltie never exceed the measure of My charitie.

Banish from Mee all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not lose the reward; nor thou, the glorie of My patience.

As thou givest Mee a heart to forgive them; so, I beseech thee, do thou forgive what they have don against thee and Mee.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given Mee a heart to praie unto thee; so hear and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercie remember Mee, and My Kingdoms, in continuing the light of thy Gospel, and settling Thy true Religion among us:

In restoring to us the benefit of the Laws, and the due execution of Justice:

In suppressing the manie Schisms in Church, and Factions in State:

If thou wilt restore Mee and Mine to the Antient rights and glorie of My Predecessors:

If thou wilt turn the hearts of My People to thy self in Pietie, to Mee in Loyaltie, and to one another in Charitie:

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewel of these Civil Wars:

If thou wilt bless us with the freedom of Publick Counsels, and deliver the Honor of Parliaments from the insolencie of the vulgar:

If thou wilt keep Mee from the great offens of enacting anie thing against My Conscience; and especially from consenting to sacrilegious rapines and spoilings of thy Church:

If thou wilt restore Mee to a capacitie to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State:

Then shall My soul prais thee, and magnifie thy Name before My People:

Then shall thy glorie bee dearer to Mee then My Crowns; and the advancement of true Religion both in puritie and power bee My chiefest care:

Then will I rule My People with Justice, and My Kingdoms with equitie:

To thy more immediate hand shall I ever ow as the rightful succession; so the mercifull restauration of My Kingdoms, and the glorie of them.

If thou wilt bring Mee again with peace, safetie,

and honor, to My chiefest Cittie, and My Parliament:

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Justice into My hand to punish and protect:

Then will I make all the world to see, and My verie Enemies to enjoie the benefit of this Vow and resolution of Christian charitie, which I now make unto thee O Lord.

As I do freely pardon for Christ's sake those that have offended Mee in anie kinde, so My hand shall never bee against anie man to revenge what is past, in regard of anie particular injurie don to Mee.

Wee have been mutually punished in our unnatural divisions; for thy sake, O Lord, and for the love of My Redeemer, have I purposed this in My heart, That I will use all means in the waies of amnestie *and indemnitie, which may most fully remoov all fears, and burie all jealousies in forgetfulness.*

Let thy Mercies bee toward Mee and Mine, as My resolutions of Truth and Peace are toward My people.

Hear My praier, O Lord, which goeth not out of feined lips.

Blessed bee God, who hath not turned away My praier; nor taken his Mercie from Mee.

O My soul, commit thy waie to the Lord, trust in him, and hee shall bring it to pass.

But if thou wilt not restore Mee and Mine, what am I that I should charge thee foolishly?

Thou

Children, whom the fraud and faction of som, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie Mee.

But thou, O Lord, canst, and wilt (as thou didst My Redeemer) both exalt and perfect Mee by My sufferings, which have more in them of thy Mercie, then of man's crueltie, or thy own justice.

27. To the Prince of Wales.

SOn! if these Papers, with som others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of My Conscience, and My most impartial thoughts, touching the chief passages, which have been most remarkable, or disputed in My late Troubles, com to Your hands, to whom they are chiefly design'd; they may bee so far useful to You, as to state Your judgment aright in what hath passed; whereof a pious is the best use can bee made; And they may also give you som directions, how to remedie the present distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to com.

It is som kinde of deceiving and lessening the injurie of My long restraint, when I finde My leasure and solitude have produced somthing worthie of My self, and usefull to You; That neither You, nor anie other, may hereafter measure My Caus by the Succes; nor My Judgment of things by My misfortunes; which I count the greater by far, becaus they have

have so far lighted upon You, and so
Others, whom I have most cauſ to love
well as My ſelf; and of whoſe unmerited ſ
frings I have a greater ſenſ then of Mine ow
But this advantage of wiſdom You ha
above moſt Princes; that You have beg
and now ſpent ſom years of diſcretion, in
experience of Troubles, and exerciſe of
tience, wherein Pietie, and all Virtues, bo
Moral and Political, are commonly be
planted to a thriving, as Trees ſet in wint
then in warmth and ſerenitie of times;
amid'ſt thoſe delights, which uſually atte
Prince's Courts in times of Peace and Plen
which are prone, either to root up all pla
of true Virtue and Honor; or to bee co
tented onely with ſom leavs, and withe
formalities of them, without anie real fru
ſuch as tend to the Publick good; for whi
Princes ſhould alwaies remember they
born, and by providence deſigned.

The evidence of which different educati
the Holie Writ afford's us in the contempl
tion of *David* and *Rehoboam*: The one prep
red by manie afflictions for a flouriſhing Kin
dom; the other ſoftned by the unparall
proſperitie of *Solomon*'s Court; and ſo corru
ted to the great diminution, both for Peac
Honor, and Kingdom, by thoſe flatteries
which are as unſeparable from proſperou
Prince

Princes, as Flies are from fruit in Summer; whom adverſitie, like cold weather, drive's away.

I had rather You ſhould bee *Charls le Bon*, then *le Grand*, Good, then Great; I hope God hath deſigned You to bee both; having ſo early put You into that exerciſe of his Graces and Gifts beſtowed upon You, which may beſt weed out all vitious inclinations, and diſpoſe You to thoſe Princelie indowments, and emploiments, which will moſt gain the love, and intend the welfare of thoſe, over whom God ſhall place You.

With God I would have You begin & end, who is King of Kings; the Sovereign Diſpoſer of the Kingdoms of the World, who pulleth down One, and ſetteth up Another.

The beſt Government, and higheſt Sovereigntie You can attein to, is, to bee ſubject to him; that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in Your heart.

The true glorie of Princes conſiſt's in advancing God's Glorie in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churche's Good; Alſo in the diſpenſation of Civil Power, with Juſtice and Honor, to the Publick Peace.

Pietie will make You proſperous; at leaſt it will keep You from beeing miſerable; nor is hee much a loſer, that loſeth all, yet ſaveth his own ſoul at laſt.

To

To which center of true happineſs, God (I truſt) hath, and will graciouſly direct all theſe black lines of affliction, which hee hath been pleaſed to draw on Mee, and by which hee hath (I hope) drawn Mee nearer to himſelf. You have alreadie taſted of that Cup whereof I have liberally drunk; which I look upon as God's Phyſick, having that in healthfulneſs which it want's in pleaſure.

Above all, I would have You, as I hope You are alreadie, wel-grounded and ſettled in Your Religion: The beſt profeſſion of which I have ever eſteemed that of *the Church of England*, in which You have been educated; yet I would have Your own Judgment and Reaſon now ſeal to that ſacred bond which education hath written; that it may be judiciouſly Your own Religion, and not other men's cuſtom or tradition which You profeſs.

In this I charge You to perſevere, as comming neareſt to God's Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive Examples for Government, with ſom little amendment, which I have otherwhere expreſſed, and often offered though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not bee more neceſſarie for Your Soul's then Your Kingdom's Peace, when God ſhall bring You to them.

For I have obſerved, that the Devil of Rebellion doth commonly turn himſelf into an Angel

Angel of reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When ſom men's Conſciences accuſe them for Sedition and Faction, they ſtop its mouth with the name and noiſ of Religion; when Pietie plead's for peace and patience, they crie out Zeal.

So that, unleſs in this point You bee well ſettled, You ſhall never want temptations to deſtroie You and Yours, under pretenſion of Reforming matters of Religion: for that ſeem's even to the worſt of men, as the beſt and moſt auſpicious beginning of their worſt deſigns.

Where, beſides the Noveltie which is taking enough with the Vulgar, everie one hath an affectation, by ſeeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to bee thought Zealous; hoping to cover thoſe irreligious deformities, whereto they are conſcious, by a ſeveritie of cenſuring other men's opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting anie Factions, or applying to anie publick Diſcriminations in matters of Religion, contrarie to what is in Your Judgment, & the Churche's wel ſettled; Your partial adhering, as Head, to anie one Side, gain's You not ſo great advantages in ſom men's hearts (who are prone to bee of their King's Religion) as it loſeth You in others; who think themſelvs and their profeſſion

fession first despised, then persecuted by you. Take such a cours as may either with calmness and charitie quite remoov the seeming differences and offenses by impartialitie; or so order affairs in point of Power that You shall not need to fear or flatter anie Faction. For, if ever you stand in need of them, or must stand to their Courtesie, you are undon: The Serpent will devour the Dove: You may never exspect less of Loyaltie, Justice, or Humanitie, then from those, who engage into Religious Rebellion; Their interest is always made God's; under the Colors of Pietie, ambitious policies March, not onely with greater securitie, but applaus, as to the populace: You may hear from them *Jacob*'s voice, but You shall feel they have *Esau*'s hands.

Nothing seemed less considerable then the Presbyterian Faction in England, for many years; so compliant they were to Publick order: nor indeed was their Partie great either in Church or State, as to men's judgments: But as soon as discontents drave men into Sidings, as ill humors fall to the diseased part, which causse's inflammations, so did all, at first, who affected anie Novelties adhere to that Side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the lesser Factions at first were officious Servants

Servants to Presbyterie, their great Master: till time and militarie succes, discovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part stakes; and, leaving the joint stock of uniform Religion, they pretended each to drive for their Partie the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State; but even of Presbyterie it self, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to You in matters which concern Religion and the Churche's peace, so as to neglect a speedie reforming and effectual suppressing Errors and Schisms: What seem at first but as a handbredth, by seditious Spirits, as by strong windes, are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have don Justice to God, Your own Soul and his Church, in the profession and preservation both of Truth and Unitie in Religion; the next main hinge on which your prosperitie will depend, and move, is, That of Civil Justice, wherein the settled Laws of these Kingdoms, to which you are rightly Heir, are the most excellent Rules you can govern by, which by an admirable temperament give verie much to Subject's industrie, libertie, and happines; and yet reserv enough to the Majestie and prerogative of anie King, who own's his

his People as Subjects, not as Slaves; whose subjection, as it preserv's their Propertie, Peace, and Safetie, so it will never diminish your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties: which consist in the enjoiment of the fruits of their industrie, and the benefit of those Laws to which themselvs have consented.

Never charge your Head with such a Crown, as shall by its heavinesse oppresse the whole bodie, the weakness of whose parts cannot return anie thing of strength, honor, or safetie to the Head, but a necessarie debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is best shewed and exercised in remitting, rather then exacting the rigor of the Laws; there beeing nothing worse then Legal Tyrannie.

In these two points, the preservation of established Religion and Laws, I may (without vanitie) turn the reproach of My sufferings, as to the world's censure, into the honor of a kinde of *Martyrdom*, as to the testimonie of My own Conscience; the Troublers of My Kingdoms having nothing elsto object against Mee but this, That I prefer Religion, and Laws established before those Alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, then what hitherto

hitherto have been chiefly used towards Mee, Tumults, Armies, and Prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, That it is safe for a King to gratifie anie Faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the Publick Interest, and the Good of the Communitie.

How God will deal with Mee, as to the remooval of these pressures and indignities, which his Justice, by the verie unjust hands of som of My Subjects, hath been pleased to laie upon Mee, I cannot tell: nor am I much solicitous what wrong I suffer from Men, while I retein in My soul, what I believ is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safetie, that in Reason, Honor, and Conscience I can; reserving onely what I cannot consent unto, without an irreparable injurie to My own Soul, the Church, and My People; and You also, as the next and undoubted Heir of My Kingdoms.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall, in his due time, after My deceas, bring You, as I hope Hee will, My Counsel & Charge to You is, That You seriously consider the former real, or objected miscarriages, which might occasion My troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never repoſe ſo much upon anie man's ſingle counſel, fidelitie, and diſcretion, in managing affairs of the firſt magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Juſtice) as to create in Your ſelf, or others, a diffidence of Your own judgment, which is likelie to bee alwaies more conſtant and impartial to the intereſts of Your Crown and Kingdom then anie man's.

Next, beware of exaſperating anie Factions by the croſneſs, and aſperitie of ſom men's paſſions, humors, or private opinions, imploied by You, grounded onely upon the differences in leſſer matters, which are but the skirts and ſuburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Chriſtian toleration often diſſipate's their ſtrength, whom rougher oppoſition fortifie's; and put's the deſpiſed and oppreſſed Partie into ſuch Combinations, as may moſt enable them to get a full revenge on thoſe they count their Perſecutors, who are commonly aſſiſted by that vulgar commiſeration, which attend's all, that are ſaid to ſuffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided, the differences amount not to an inſolent oppoſition of Laws and Government, or Religion eſtabliſhed, as to the eſſentials of them: Such motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwaies

Alwaies keep up Solid Pietie, and thoſe fundamental Truths, which mend both hearts and lives of men, with impartial favor and juſtice.

Take heed that outward circumſtances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the beſt encouragements of learning, induſtrie, and pietie; but, with an equal eie, and impartial hand, diſtribute favors and rewards to all men, as you finde them for their real goodneſs both in abilities and fidelitie worthie and capable of them.

This will bee ſure to gain You the hearts of the beſt and the moſt too; who, though they bee not good themſelvs, yet are glad to ſee the ſeverer waies of virtue at anie time ſweetned by temporal rewards.

I have, you ſee, conflicted with different & oppoſite Factions; (for ſo I muſt needs call and count all thoſe, that act not in anie conformitie to the Laws eſtabliſhed, in Church and State) no ſooner have they by force ſubdued what they counted their Common Enemie, (that is, all thoſe that adhered to the Laws, and to Mee) and are ſecured from that fear, but they are divided to ſo high a rivalrie, as ſet's them more at defiance againſt each other, then againſt their firſt Antagoniſt.

Time will diſſipate all factions, when once the

the rough horns of private men's covetous and ambitious deſigns ſhall diſcover themſelvs; which were at firſt wrap't up and hidden under the ſoft and ſmooth pretenſions of Religion, Reformation, and Libertie: As the Wolf is not leſs cruel, ſo hee will bee more juſtly hated, when hee ſhall appear no better then a Wolf under Sheep's cloathing.

But as for the ſeduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their ſimplicitie follow thoſe diſguiſes, My Charge and Counſel to You is, That, as You need no palliations for anie Deſigns, (as other men) ſo You ſtudie really to exceed (in true and conſtant demonſtrations of Goodneſs, Pietie, and Virtue, towards the People) even all thoſe men, that make the greateſt noiſ and oſtentations of Religion; ſo You ſhall neither fear anie detection, (as they do, who have but the face and mask of goodneſs) nor ſhall You fruſtrate the juſt expectations of Your People; who cannot in Reaſon promiſe themſelvs ſo much good from anie Subject's Novelties, as from the virtuous conſtancie of their King.

When theſe mountains of congealed factions ſhall, by the Sun-ſhine of God's mercie, and the ſplendor of Your virtues, bee thawed and diſſipated; and the abuſed Vulgar ſhall have learned, That none are greater Oppreſſors

ſors of their Eſtates, Liberties, and Conſciences then thoſe men, that entitle themſelvs The Patrons and Vindicators of them, onely to uſurp power over them; Let then no paſſion betraie You to anie ſtudie of Revenge upon thoſe, whoſe own ſin and follie will ſufficiently puniſh them in due time.

But as ſoon as the forked Arrow of Factious Emulations is drawn out, uſe all Princelie Arts and Clemencie to heal the Wounds; that the ſmart of the Cure may not equal the anguiſh of the Hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indemnitie and Oblivion, to ſo great a latitude, as may include all, that can but ſuſpect themſelvs to bee anie waie obnoxious to the Laws; and which might ſerv to exclude all future Jealouſies and inſecurities.

I would have You alwaies propenſ to the ſame waie; when ever it ſhall bee deſired and accepted, let it bee granted, not onely as an Act of State-Policie and Neceſſitie, but of Chriſtian Charitie and Choiſ.

It is all I have now left Mee, a Power to forgive thoſe, that have deprived Mee of all; and I thank God, I have a Heart to do it; and joie as much in this Grace, which God hath giv'n Mee, as in all My former enjoiments; for this is a greater argument of God's Love to Mee, then anie Proſperitie can bee.

Bee

Bee confident(as I am)that the moſt of all ſides,who have don amiſs, have don ſo, not out of malice, but miſ-information, or miſ-apprehenſion of things.

None will bee more loyal and faithful to Mee and You, then thoſe Subjects, who ſenſible of their Errors, and our Injuries, will feel in their own Souls moſt vehement motives to repentance; and earneſt deſires to make ſom reparations for their former defects.

As Your quaſitie ſet's You beyond anie Duel with anie Subject; ſo the nobleneſs of Your minde muſt raiſ You above the meditating anie revenge, or executing Your anger upon the Manie.

The more conſcious You ſhall bee to Your own merits, upon Your People; the more prone You will bee to exſpect all Love and Loyaltie from them; and to inflict no puniſhment upon them for former miſcarriages: You will have more inward complacencie in pardoning one,then in puniſhing a thouſand.

This I write to you,not deſpairing of God's Mercie,and My Subject's affections towards You; both which,I hope, You will ſtudie to deſerv; yet Wee cannot merit of God,but by his own Mercie.

If God ſhall ſee fit to reſtore Mee, and You after Mee, to thoſe enjoiments, which the Laws

Laws have aſſigned to Us; and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and ſin can deveſt Us of; then may I have better opportunitie when I ſhall bee ſo happie to ſee You in peace,to let You more fully underſtand the things that belong to God's glorie, Your own honor,and the Kingdom's peace.

But, if You never ſee My face again, and God will have Mee buried in ſuch a barbarous Impriſonment and obſcuritie,(which the perfecting ſom men's deſigns require's)wherein few hearts that love Mee are permitted to exchange a word,or a look with Mee,I do require and entreat You as your Father, and your KING, that You never ſuffer Your heart to receiv the leaſt check againſt, or diſaffection from the true Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*.

I tell You, I have tried it, and after much ſearch, and manie diſputes,have concluded it to bee the beſt in the world; not onely in the Communitie,as Chriſtian,but alſo in the ſpecial notion, as reformed; keeping the middle waie between the pomp of ſuperſtitious Tyrannie, and the meanneſs of fantaſtick Anarchie.

Not but that(the draught beeing excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) ſom lines,as in verie good figures,may haply need

ſom

ſom ſweet'ning, or poliſhing; which mig
here have eaſily been don by a ſafe and gen
hand; if ſom men's precipitancie had not
olently demanded ſuch rude Alterations,
would have quite deſtroied all the Beau
and Proportions of the whole.

The ſcandal of the late Troubles, whi
ſom may object and urge to You againſt t
Proteſtant-Religion eſtabliſhed in *Engla*
is eaſily Anſwered to them, or Your o
thoughts, in this, That ſcarce anie one wi
hath been a Beginner, or an active Profecut
of this late War againſt the Church, t
Laws, and Mee, either was, or is a true Lov
Embracer, or Practiſer of the Proteſtant-R
ligion, eſtabliſhed in ENGLAND: which n
ther give's ſuch Rules, nor ever before
ſuch Examples.

'Tis true, ſom heretofore had the boldn
to preſent threatning Petitions to their Pri
ces and Parliaments, which others of the ſam
Faction (but of worſ Spirits) have no
put in Execution: but let not counterfe
and diſorderlie Zeal abate Your value a
eſteem of true Pietie; both of them are
bee *known by their Fruits*; the ſweetneſs
the Vine and Fig-tree is not to bee deſpiſe
though the Brambles and Thorns ſhould pr
tend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to ru
over the Trees.

No

Nor would I have You to entertain anie
averſation, or diſlike of Parliaments; which,
in their right conſtitution with Freedom and
Honor, will never injure or diminiſh Your
Greatneſs, but will rather bee as interchange-
ings of Love, Loyaltie, and Confidence, be-
tween a Prince, and His People.

Nor would the events of this black Parlia-
ment have been other then ſuch (however
much biaſſed by Factions in the Elections) if
it had been preſerved from the inſolencies of
Popular dictates, and tumultuarie impreſſi-
ons: The ſad effects of which, will no doubt,
make all Parliaments after this more cauti-
ous to preſerv that Freedom and Honor,
which belong's to ſuch Aſſemblies (when
once they have fully ſhaken off this yoke of
Vulgar encroachment) ſince the Publick inte-
reſt conſiſt's in the mutual and common good
both of Prince and People.

Nothing can bee more happie for all, then,
in fair, grave, and Honorable waies, to contri-
ute their Counſels in Common, enacting all
hings by Publick Conſent, without Tyran-
ie or Tumults. Wee muſt not ſtarv our
elvs, becauſ ſom men have ſurfeited of
holſom food.

And if neither I, nor You, bee ever reſtored
o Our Right, but God, in his ſevereſt Juſtice,
will puniſh My Subjects with continuance in

their

their ſin, and ſuffer them to bee deluded w
the proſperitie of their wickedneſs; I ho
God willgive Mee,and You,that grace, wh
will teach and enable Us, to want, as well
to wear a Crown; which is not worth tak
up, or enjoying,upon ſordid, diſhonorable,
irreligious terms.

Keep You to true principles of pietie,
tue,and honor; You ſhall never want a K
dom.

A principal point of Your honor will
ſiſt in Your deferring all reſpect, love,
protection to Your Mother My Wife,
hath manie waies deſerved well of Mee,
chiefly in this, that (having been a mean
bleſs Mee with ſo manie hopeful Childr
(all which, with their Mother, I recom
to Your love and care) Shee hath been
tent with incomparable magnanimitie and
tience to ſuffer both for, and with Mee,
You.

My praier to God Almightie is, (what
becom's of Mee,who am,I thank God,
up and fortified in My own Innocencie,
his Grace) that hee would bee pleaſ
make You an Anchor, or Harbour rather
theſe toſſed and weather-beaten Kingdo
a Repairer by Your Wiſdom, Juſtice, P
Valor, of what the follie and wicked
of ſom men have ſo far ruined,

leav nothing entire in Church or State; to the Crown, the Nobilitie, the Clergie, or the Commons; either as to Laws,Liberties, Eſtates,Order,Honor,Conſcience, or lives.

When they have deſtroied Mee,(for I know not how far God may permit the malice and crueltie of My Enemies to proceed, and ſuch apprehenſions ſom men's words and actions have alreadie given Mee) as I doubt not but My blood will crie aloud for vengeance to heaven; ſo I beſeech God not to pour out his wrath upon the generalitie of the People, who have either deſerted Mee, or engaged againſt Mee, through the Artifice and hypocriſie of their Leaders, whoſe inward horror will bee their firſt Tormentor; nor will they eſcape Exemplarie judgments.

For thoſe that loved Mee, I praie God they may have no miſs of Mee, when I am gon; ſo much I wiſh and hope, that all good Subjects may bee ſatisfied with the bleſſings of Your preſence and virtues.

For thoſe that repent of anie defects in their Dutie toward Mee, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Chriſtian King; ſo I believ You will finde them truly Zealous, to repaie,with intereſt,that loyaltie and love to You,which was Due to Mee.

In ſum, what good I intended, do You Perform, when God ſhall give You Power:

much

much good I have offered, more I purpoſed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will ſoon vaniſh, and the Vizards will fall off apace; This Maſk of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for ſo it now plainly appear's, ſince My Reſtraint and cruel uſage, that they fought not for Mee, as was pretended) will not long ſery to hide ſome men's deformities.

Happie times, I hope, attend You, wherein Your Subjects (by their miſeries) will have learned, *That Religion to their God, and Loyaltie to their King, cannot bee parted, without both their ſin and their infelicitie.*

I praie God bleſs you and eſtabliſh Your Kingdoms in righteouſneſs, Your Soul in true Religion, and Your honor in the love of God and Your People.

And if God will have diſloyaltie perfected by My deſtruction, let My memorie ever with My Name, live in You; as of Your Father, that love's You: and once a KING of three flouriſhing Kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honor, not onely with the Scepter and Government of them, but alſo with the Suffering manie indignities and an untimelie Death for them; while I ſtudied to preſerv the Rights of the Church, the power of the Laws, the honor of My Crown,

the priviledg of Parliaments, the liberties of My People, and My own Conſcience, which, I thank God, is dearer to Mee then a thouſand Kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope hee yet will reſtore Mee to My Rights. I cannot deſpair either of his Mercie, or of My People's love and pittie.

At worſt, I truſt I ſhall but go before You to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for Mee, and Mee for it, through My Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to whoſe Mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewel, till Wee meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

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28. *Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addreſſes, and* His MAJESTIE's *cloſer impriſonment in* Carisbrook-Caſtle.

AS I have leaſure enough, ſo I have cauſe more then enough to meditate upon, and prepare for My death: for I know there are but few ſteps between the Priſons and the Graves of Princes.

It is God's indulgence, which give's Mee the ſpace; but Man's crueltie, that give's Mee the ſad occaſions for theſe thoughts.

For, beſides the common burthen of mortalitie, which lie's upon Mee, as a Man; I now bear the heavie load of other men's ambitions,

bitions, fears, jealousies, and cruel passions, whose envie, or enmitie against Mee make's their own lives seem deadlie to them, while I enjoie anie part of Mine.

I thank God, My prosperitie made Mee not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of mortalitie:

Those are never unseasonable, since this is alwaies uncertain: Death beeing an eclipse, which oft happ'neth as well in clear, as cloudie daies.

But My now long and sharp adversitie hath so reconciled in Mee those natural Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men; that, I thank God, the common terrors of it are dispelled; and the special horror of it, as to My particular, much allaied: for, although My death at present may justly bee represented to Mee with all those terrible aggravations, which the policie of cruel and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affairs beeing drawn to the verie dregs of malice) yet, I bless God, I can look upon all those stings, as unpoisonous, though sharp; since My Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or giv'n Mee the Antidote of his Death against them; which, as to the immaturitie, injustice, shame, scorn, and crueltie of it, exceeded whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did finde so much the life of Religion,

Religion, the feast of a good Conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integritie and constancie, as since I came to these closer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old, as to bee wearie of life; nor (I hope) so bad, as to bee either afraid to die, or ashamed to live: true, I am so afflicted, as might make Mee somtime even desire to die, if I did not consider, That it is the greatest glorie of a Christian's life to *die daily*, in conquering, by a livelie faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partial and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piecemeals, and make us over-live our own fates; while Wee are deprived of health, honor, libertie, power, credit, safetie, estate, and those other comforts of deerest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a KING, I think My self to live in nothing temporal so much, as in the love and good-will of My People; for which as I have suffered manie deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding My Enemies have used all the poison of falsitie and violence of hostilitie to destroie, first, the love and Loialtie, which is in My Subjects; and then all that content of life in Mee, which from these I chiefly enjoied.

Indeed, they have left Mee but little of life,

and onely the husk and ſhell (as it were) which their further malice and crueltie can take from Mee; having bereaved Mee of all thoſe worldlie comforts, for which life it ſelf ſeem's deſirable to men.

But, O My Soul! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God give's thee anie opportunities, if not to do, yet to ſuffer with ſuch Chriſtian patience and magnanimitie in a good Cauſ, as are the greateſt honor of our lives, and the beſt improovment of our deaths.

I know that, in point of true Chriſtian valor, it argue's puſillanimitie to deſire to die, out of wearineſs of life; and a want of that Heroïck greatneſs of ſpirit which becom's a Chriſtian in the patient and generous ſuſteining thoſe afflictions, which as ſhadows neceſſarily attend us, while we are in this bodie; and which are leſſened or enlarged as the Sun of our proſperitie move's higher, or lower: whoſe total abſence is beſt recompenſed with the Dew of Heaven.

The aſſaults of affliction may bee terrible, like *Sampſon*'s Lion, but they yeeld much ſweetneſs to thoſe that dare to encounter and overcom them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without diſcontent or peeviſhneſs, while they may yet converſ with God.

That

That I muſt die as a Man, is certain; that I may die a King, by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, ſudden, and barbarous death, in the ſtrength of My years, in the mid'ſt of My Kingdoms, My Friends and loving Subjects beeing helpleſs Spectators, My Enemies inſolent Revilers and Triumphers over Mee, living, dying, and dead, is ſo probable in humane reaſon, that God hath taught Mee not to hope otherwiſe, as to man's crueltie; however, I deſpair not of God's infinite Mercie.

I know My Life is the object of the Devil's and wicked men's malice; but yet under God's ſole cuſtodie and diſpoſal: Whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by ſeeming prepared to die; but I humbly deſire to depend upon him, and to ſubmit to his will both in life and death, in what order ſoever he is pleaſed to laie them out to Mee. I confeſs it is not eaſie for Mee to contend with thoſe manie horrors of death, wherewith God ſuffer's Mee to bee tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the ſuddenneſs of a barbarous Aſſaſſination; or in thoſe greater formalities, whereby My Enemies (beeing more ſolemnly cruel) will, it may bee, ſeek to add (as thoſe did who crucified Chriſt) the mockerie of Juſtice, to the crueltie of Malice: That I may bee deſtroied, as with greater

pomp and artifice, ſo with leſs pittie, it will bee but a neceſſarie policie to make My death appear as an Act of Juſtice don by Subject's upon their Sovereign; who know that no Law of God or Man inveſt's them with anie power of Judicature without Mee, much leſs againſt Mee: and who, beeing ſworn and bound by all that is Sacred before God and man to endevour My preſervation, muſt pretend Juſtice to cover their Perjurie.

It is, indeed, a ſad fate for anie man to have his Enemies to bee Accuſers, Parties, and Judges; but moſt deſperate, when this is acted by the inſolence of Subject's againſt their Sovereign: wherein thoſe, who have had the chiefeſt hand, and are moſt guiltie of contriving the Publick Troubles, muſt by ſhedding My blood ſeem to waſh their own hands of that innocent blood, whereof they are now moſt evidently guiltie before God and man; and, I believ, in their own conſciences too; while they carried on unreaſonable demands, firſt by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing make's mean ſpirits more cowardly-cruel in managing their uſurped power againſt their lawful Superiors, then this, the *Guilt of their unjuſt Uſurpation*; notwithſtanding thoſe ſpecious and popular pretenſions of Juſtice againſt Delinquents, applied onely to diſguiſ at firſt the monſtrouſneſs of their deſigns,

ſigns, who deſpaired, indeed, of poſſeſſing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heir, whoſe right it is, bee caſt out and ſlain.

With them My greateſt fault muſt bee, that I would not either deſtroie My ſelf with the Church and State by My Word; or not ſuffer them to do it, unreſiſted by the Sword; whoſe covetous ambition no Conceſſions of Mine could ever yet, either ſatisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likelie they will ever think, that Kingdom of brambles, which ſom men ſeek to erect (at once, weak, ſharp, and fruitleſs, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royal blood of thoſe, whoſe right the Kingdom is.

Well, God's will bee don: I doubt not but My Innocencie will finde him both My Protector and My Advocate, who is My onely Judg; whom I own as King of Kings, not onely for the Eminencie of his Power and Majeſtie above them; but alſo for that ſingular Care and Protection, which hee hath over them: who knowe's them to bee expoſed to as manie dangers (beeing the greateſt Patrons of Law, Juſtice, Order, and Religion on Earth) as there bee either Men or Devils, which love confuſion.

Nor will hee ſuffer thoſe men long to proſper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones, and cement it with the blood of their Kings.

I am confident they will finde Avengers of My death among themselvs: the injuries I have susteined from them shall bee first punished by them, who agree'd in nothing so much as in opposing Mee.

Their impatience to bear the loud crie of My bloud shall make them think no waie better to expiate it, then by shedding their's, who with them most thirsted after Mine.

The sad confusions, following My destruction, are alreadie presaged and confirmed to Mee by those I have lived to see since My Troubles; in which God alone (who onely could) hath manie waies pleaded My cause; not suffering them to go unpunished, whose confederacie in sin was their onely securitie; who have caus to fear that God will both further divide, and by mutual vengeance, afterward destroie them.

My greatest conquest of Death is from the power and love of Christ, who hath swallow'd up Death in the victorie of his Resurrection, and the glorie of his Asscension.

My next comfort is, that he give's Mee not onely the honor to imitate his example in *suffering for righteousnes-sake*, (though obscured by the foulest charges of Tyrannie and Injustice) but also that charitie, which is the noblest revenge upon, and victorie over My Destroiers: By which, I thank God, I can both

both forgive them, and praie for them, that God would not impute My blood to them further then to convince them, what need they have of Christ's blood to wash their souls from the guilt of shedding Mine.

At present, the will of My Enemies seem's to bee their onely Rule, their power the Measure, and their success the Exactor of what they pleas to call Justice; while they flatter themselvs with the Fancie of their own safetie by My Danger, and the securitie of their lives and designs by My Death: forgetting that as the greatest temptations to sin are wrapped up in seeming prosperities; so the severest vengeances of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to complete their wicked purposes.

I bless God, I praie not so much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may pass from Mee, as that of his wrath may pass from all those, whose hands, by deserting Mee, are sprinkled, or, by acting and consenting to My death, are embrued with My blood.

The will of God hath confined and concluded Mine; I shall have the pleasure of dying, without anie pleasure of desired vengeance.

This, I think, becom's a Christian toward his Enemies; and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Mee of more then I

am

am content to loſe, when God ſee's fit by their hands to take it from Mee; whoſe Mercie, I believ, will more then infinitely recompenſ what ever by man's injuſtice hee is pleaſed to deprive Mee of.

The glorie attending My death will far surpaſs all I could enjoie, or conceiv in life.

I ſhall not want the heavie and envied Crowns of this world, when My God hath mercifully crowned and conſummated his graces with glorie, and exchanged the ſhadows of My earthlie Kingdoms among men for the ſubſtance of that heavenlie Kingdom with Himſelf.

For the cenſures of the world; I know the ſharp and neceſſarie Tyrannie of My Deſtroiers wil ſufficiently confute the calumnies of Tyrannie againſt Mee; I am perſwaded I am happie in the Judicious love of the ableſt and beſt of My Subjects, who do not onely Pittie and Praie for Mee, but would bee content even to Die with Mee, or for Mee.

Theſe know, how to excuſe My failings, as a man; and yet to retein, and paie their duties to Mee as their King; there beeing no Religious neceſſitie binding anie Subjects, by pretending to puniſh, infinitely to exceed the faults and errors of their Princes; eſpecially there, where more then ſufficient ſatisfaction hath been made to the publick; the enjoiment of

of which, private ambitions have hitherto fruſtrated.

Others, I believ, of ſofter tempers, and leſs advantaged by My ruine, do alreadie feel ſharp Convictions, and ſom remorſ in their Conſciences; where they cannot but ſee the proportions of their evil dealings againſt Mee in the Meaſure of God's retaliations upon them; who cannot hope long to enjoie their own thumbs and toes, having, under pretenſ of paring other's nails, been ſo cruel as to cut off their chiefeſt ſtrength.

The puniſhment of the more inſolent and obſtinate may bee like that of *Korah* and his complices (at once mutining againſt both Prince and Prieſt) in ſuch a method of divine Juſtice, as is not ordinarie; the earth of the loweſt and meaneſt people op'ning upon them, and ſwallowing them up in a juſt diſdain of their ill-gotten and worſ-uſed Autoritie: upon whoſe ſupport and ſtrength they chiefly depended for their building and eſtabliſhing their deſigns againſt Mee, the Church, and State.

My chiefeſt comfort in death conſiſt's in My Peace, which, I truſt, is made with God; before whoſe exact Tribunal I ſhall not fear to appear, as to the Cauſ ſo long diſputed by the Sword, between Mee and My cauſleſs enemies: where, I doubt not, but, his righteous judgment

judgment will confute their fallacie, who from worldlie ſucceſs (rather like Sophiſters, then ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popular concluſions for God's approbation of their actions; whoſe wiſe providence (wee know) oft permit's manie events, which his reveal'd Word (the onely clear, ſafe, and fixed Rule of good actions and good conſciences) in no ſort approve's.

I am confident, the Juſtice of My Cauſ, and clearneſs of My Conſcience before God and toward My People, will carrie Mee, as much above them in God's deciſion, as their ſucceſſes have lifted them above Mee in the Vulgar opinion: who conſider not, that, manie times, thoſe undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the proſperitie and applauſ of the world, whoſe riſe is from Hell, as to the injuriouſneſs & oppreſſion of the deſign. The proſperous windes, which oft fill the ſails of Pirats, do not juſtifie their Piracie and rapine.

I look upon it, with infinite more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worſted in My enforced conteſtation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the Freedom and honor of Parliaments, the Rights of My Crown, the juſt libertie of My Subject's, and the true Chriſtian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greateſt advantages of ſucceſs,

ceſs, over-born them all; as ſom men have now evidently don, whatever deſigns they at firſt pretended.

The praiers and patience of My Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the ſweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I ſhal more cheerfully take, and drink as from God's hand (if it muſt bee ſo) then they can give it to Mee, whoſe hands are unjuſtly & barbarouſly lifted up againſt Mee.

And, as to the laſt event, I may ſeem to ow more to My Enemies, then My Friends; while thoſe will put a period to the ſins and ſorrows attending this miſerable life, wherewith theſe deſire I might ſtill contend.

I ſhall bee more then Conqueror through Chriſt enabling Mee; for whom I have hitherto ſuffered, as hee is the Autor of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend, againſt Error, Faction, and Confuſion.

If I muſt ſuffer a violent death, with My Saviour, it is but Mortalitie crowned with Martyrdom: where the debt of death, which I ow for ſin to nature, ſhall bee raiſed as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beſeech him mercifully to accept; And, although death bee the wages of My own ſin, as from God, and the effect of other's ſins, as men, both againſt God and Mee;

Mee; yet, as I hope, My own ſins are ſo remitted, that they ſhall bee no ingredients to imbitter the cup of My death; ſo I deſire God to pardon their ſins, who are moſt guiltie of My deſtruction.

The Trophees of My charitie will bee more glorious and durable over them, then their ill-managed victories over Mee.

Though their ſin bee Proſperous, yet they had need to bee Penitent, that they may bee Pardoned: Both which I praie God they may obtein; that My temporal death, unjuſtly inflicted by them, may not bee revenged by God's juſt inflicting eternal death upon them: for I look upon the temporal deſtruction of the greateſt King, as far leſs deprecable, then the eternal damnation of the meaneſt Subject.

Nor do I wiſh other, then the ſafe bringing of the ſhip to ſhore, when they have caſt Mee over-board; though it bee verie ſtrange, that Mariners can finde no other means to appeaſ the ſtorm themſelvs have raiſed, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, My enemie's crueltie cannot prevent My Preparation; whoſe malice in this I ſhall defeat, that they ſhall not have the ſatisfaction to have deſtroied My Soul with My Bodie; of whoſe ſalvation while ſom of them have themſelvs ſeemed, and taught others

others to Deſpair, they have onely diſcovered this, that they do not much Deſire it.

Whoſe uncharitable and cruel Reſtraints, denying Mee even the aſſiſtance of anie of My Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, then anie waie obſtructed My acceſs to the Throne of Heaven.

Where thou dwelleſt, O King of Kings; who fillest Heaven and Earth; who art the fountain of Eternal life; in whom is no ſhadow of death.

Thou O God art both the juſt Inflicter of death upon us; and the merciful Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea, it is better for us to bee dead to our ſelvs, and live in thee; then by living in our ſelvs to bee deprived of thee.

O make the manie bitter Aggravations of My death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy ſpecial graces and comforts in My Soul, as a Chriſtian.

If thou Lord wilt bee with Mee, I ſhall neither fear, nor feel anie evil, though I walk through the vallie of the ſhadow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortal man; to overcom it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almightie and Immortal God.

O My Saviour, who knoweſt what it is to die

with

with Mee as a Man; make Mee to know what it is to pass through death to life with thee My God.

Though I die, yet I know that thou My Redeemer livest for ever: though thou slaiest Mee, yet thou hast encouraged Mee to trust in thee for eternal life.

O withdraw not thy favor from Mee, which is better then life.

O bee not far from Mee, for I know not how near a violent and cruel death is to Mee.

As thy Omniscience, O God, discover's, so thy Omnipotence can defeat the designs of those, who have, or shall conspire My destruction.

O shew Mee the goodness of thy will, through the wickedness of their's.

Thou givest Mee leav as a man to praie, that this cup may pass from Mee; but thou hast taught Mee as a Christian by the example of Christ to add, not My will, but thine bee don.

Yea, Lord, let our wills bee one, by wholly resolving mine into thine: let not the desire of life in Mee bee so great, as that of doing or suffering thy will, in either life or death.

As I believ thou hast forgiv'n all the errors of My life; so I hope thou wilt save Mee from the terrors of My death.

Make Mee content to leav the world's nothing, that I may com really to enjoie all in thee, who hast made Christ unto Mee in life, gain; and in death, advantage.

Though

Though My Destroiers forget their Dutie to thee and Mee; yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to bee Merciful to them.

For what profit is there in My blood, or in their gaining My Kingdoms, if they lose their own Souls?

Such as have not onely resisted My just Power, but wholly usurped and turned it against My self, though they may deserv, yet let them not receiv to themselvs damnation.

Thou mad'st thy Son a Saviour to manie that crucified Him, while at once he suffered Violently by them, and yet Willingly for them.

O let the voice of his blood bee heard for My Murtherers, louder then the crie of Mine against them.

Prepare them for thy Mercie by due convictions of their sin; and let them not at once deceiv and damn their own Souls by fallacious pretensions of Justice in destroying Mee, while the conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against Mee chiefly tempt's them to use all extremities against Mee.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to Mee as verie fals, so verie cruel; who, pretending to preserv Mee, have meditated nothing but My ruine.

O deal not with them as blood-thirstie and deceitful men; but overcom their crueltie with thy compassion, and My charitie.

And

And when thou makeſt inquiſition for My bloud, O ſprinkle their polluted, yet penitent, Souls with the blood of thy Son, that thy deſtroying Angel may paſs over them.

Though they think My Kingdoms on earth too little to entertain at once both them and Mee; yet let the capacious kingdom of thy infinite Mercie at laſt receiv both Mee and My enemies:

When, beeing reconciled to thee in the blood of the ſame Redeemer, wee ſhall live far above theſe ambitious deſires, which beget ſuch mortal enmities.

When their hands ſhall bee heavieſt, and cruelleſt upon Mee, O let Mee fall into the arms of thy tender and eternal Mercies.

That what is cut off of My life, in this miſerable moment, may bee repaired in thy ever-bleſſed Eternitie.

Lord, let thy ſervant depart in peace, for My eies have ſeen Thy ſalvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.

FINIS.

PRAIERS,

Uſed by His

MAJESTIE

In the time of His

Sufferings.

Delivered to Doctor *Juxon* biſhop of LONDON immediately before *His Death.*

Alſo a Letter from the *PRINCE.*

A Praier in time of Captivitie.

O Powerful and Eternal God! to whom nothing is ſo great, that it may reſiſt; or ſo ſmall, that it is contemned; look upon My Miſerie with thine eie of Mercie, and let thine infinite Power vouchſafe to limit out ſom proportion of deliverance unto Mee, as to Thee ſhall ſeem moſt convenient; let not Injurie, O Lord, triumph over Mee; and let My faults by Thy hand bee corrected; and make not My unjuſt enemies the miniſters of thy Juſtice:

ſtice: But yet My God, if in Thy wiſdom this bee the apteſt chaſtiſement for My unexcuſable tranſgreſſions; if this ingrateful bondage bee fitteſt for My over-high deſires; if the pride of My (not enough humble) heart bee thus to bee broken; O Lord, I yeeld unto Thy will, and cheerfully imbrace what ſorrow Thou wilt have Mee ſuffer: Onely thus much let Mee crave of Thee, (Let My craving, O Lord, bee accepted of, ſince it even proceed's from Thee) that, by Thy goodneſs which is Thy ſelf, Thou wilt ſuffer ſom beam of Thy Majeſtie ſo to ſhine in My minde, that I, who acknowledg it My Nobleſt Title to bee Thy Creature, may ſtill, in My greateſt Afflictions, depend confidently on Thee. Let Calamitie bee the exerciſe, but not the overthrow of My Virtue. O let not their prevailing power bee to My deſtruction. And if it bee Thy will that they more and more vex Mee with puniſhment; yet, O Lord, never let their wickedneſs have ſuch a hand, but that I may ſtill carrie a pure minde, and ſtedfaſt reſolution ever to ſerv Thee, without fear or preſumption; yet with that humble Confidence which may beſt pleaſ Thee: ſo that at the laſt I may com to Thy eternal Kingdom through the Merits of Thy Son our alone Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

Another

Another Praier.

ALmightie and moſt merciful Father, look down upon Mee Thy unworthie ſervant, who here proſtrate My ſelf at the Foot-ſtool of Thy Throne of Grace; but look upon Mee, O Father, through the Mediation and in the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt, in whom Thou art onely well-pleaſed; for, of My ſelf I am not worthie to ſtand before Thee, or to ſpeak with My unclean lips to Thee, moſt holie and eternal God! for as in ſin I was conceived and born; ſo likewiſe I have broken all Thy Commandments by My ſinful motions, unclean thoughts, evil words, and wicked works; omitting manie Duties I ought to do, and committing manie Vices which Thou haſt forbidden under pain of Thy heavie Diſpleaſure: as for My ſins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I ſtand here liable to all the miſeries in this life, and everlaſting Torments in that to com, if Thou ſhould'ſt deal with Mee according to My deſerts. I confeſs, O Lord, that it is Thy Mercie, (which endureth for ever) and Thy Compaſſion (which never fail's) which is the cauſ that I have not been long ago conſumed: but with Thee there is Mercie and plenteous Redemption; in the multitude therefore of

 Thy

Thy Mercies and by the Merits of Jesus Christ, I intreat Thy Divine Majestie, that Thou would'st not enter into judgment with Thy servant, nor bee extreme to mark what is don amiss, but bee Thou merciful unto Mee, and wash away all My sins with that pretious blood that My Saviour shed for Mee. And I beseech thee, O Lord, not onely to wash away all My sins; but also to purge My heart by Thy holie Spirit, from the dross of My natural corruption: and as Thou do'st add daies to My life; so good Lord, I beseech Thee, to add repentance to My daies, that when I have past this mortal life, I may bee partaker of Thy everlasting Kingdom, through the Merits of Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A Praier and Confession made in and for the times of Affliction.

ALmightie and most merciful Father, as it is onely Thy goodness that admit's of Our imperfect Praiers, and the knowledg that Thy mercies are infinite, which can give Us anie hope of Thy accepting or granting them; so it is our bounden and necessarie Dutie to confess our sins freely unto Thee: and, of all men living, I have most need, most reason, so to do, no man having been so much

much obliged by Thee, no man more grievously offending Thee: that degree of knowledg which Thou hast given Mee, adding likewise to the guilt of My transgressions. For was it through ignorance, that I suffered innocent blood to bee shed by a falsf pretended waie of Justice? or that I permitted a wrong waie of Thy Worship, to bee set up in *Scotland?* and injured the Bishops in *England?* O no; but with shame and grief I confess, that I therein followed the perswasions of worldlie wisdom, forsaking the Dictates of a right-informed Conscience: Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy Mercies; for I know My repentance weak, and My praiers faultie: Grant therefore, merciful Father, so to strengthen My repentance, and amend My praiers, that thou maiest clear the waie for Thine own Mercies; to which O let Thy Justice at last give place, putting a speedie end to My deserved afflictions. In the mean time give Mee Patience to endure, Constancie against Temptations, and a Discerning spirit, to chuse what is best for Thy Church and People, which Thou hast committed to My Charge. Grant this, O most merciful Father, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake, our onely Saviour. *Amen.*

A Praier

A Praier in time of imminent Danger.

O Most merciful Father, though My sins are
manie and grievous, that I may rather expect
the effects of Thy anger, then so great a deliverance
as to free Mee from My present great danger; yet
O Lord, since Thy Mercies are over all Thy works
and Thou never failest to reliev all those who with
humble and unfained repentance com to Thee for
succour, it were to multiplie, not diminish My
transgressions, to despair of thy heavenlie favour
wherefore I humbly desire Thy Divine Majestie
that Thou wilt not onely pardon all My sins, but
also free Mee out of the hands, and protect Mee
from the malice of My cruel Enemies. But if Thy
wrath against My hainous Offenses will not otherwaies bee satisfied, then by suffering Mee to fall under My present afflictions, Thy will bee don; yet
with humble Importunitie, I do and shall never leave
to implore the assistance of Thy heavenlie Spirit,
that My Cause, as I am Thy Vice-gerent, may not
suffer through My weakness or want of courage.
O Lord, so strengthen and enlighten all the faculties of My Minde, that with clearness I may shew
forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloodie
Trial; that so My sufferings here may not onely
glorifie Thee; but likewise bee a furtherance to My
salvation hereafter. Grant this, O merciful Father, for his sake who suffered for Mee, even Jesus
Christ the Righteous, *Amen.*

FINIS.

A Copie of a Letter which was sent from the PRINCE to the KING; Dated from the HAGUE, *Jan.* 23. 1648.

SIR!

HAving no means to com to the knowledg of Your Majestie's present condition, but such as I receiv from the Prints, or (which is as uncertain) Report, I have sent this Bearer Seamour *to wait upon Your Majestie; and to bring Mee an account of it: that I may withal assure Your Majestie, I do not onely praie for Your Majestie according to my Dutie; but shall alwaies bee readie to do all which shall bee in My power, to deserv that blessing which I now humbly beg of Your Majestie upon*

SIR,

Hague, *Jan.* 23. 1648.

Your MAJESTIE'S *most humble and most obedient Son and Servant,*

CHARLS.

The Superscription was thus,

For the King.

Mundaie 29th *Januarie*, 1648.

A true Relation of the KING's *Speech to the Ladie* Elisabeth, *and the Duke of* Gloceſter, *the day before His death.*

HIs Children beeing com to meet Him, Hee firſt gave His bleſſing to the Ladie *Eliſabeth*; and bad her remember to tell her Brother *James*, whenever ſhee ſhould see him, That it was his Father's laſt deſire, that hee ſhould no more look upon *Charls* as his eldeſt Brother onely, but bee obedient unto him, as his Sovereign; and that they ſhould love one another, and forgive their Father's Enemies. Then ſaid the *King* to her, Sweet-heart, you forget this: No (ſaid ſhee) I ſhall never forget it while I live: and, pouring forth abundance of tears, promiſed Him to write down the Particulars.

Then the *King* taking the Duke of *Gloceſter* upon His Knee, ſaid, Sweet-heart, Now they will cut off thy Father's Head; (upon which words the Childe looked verie ſtedfaſtly on Him) Mark Childe what I ſaie, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I ſaie, You muſt not bee a King, ſo long as your Brothers, *Charls* and *James*, do live; For they will cut off your Brothers Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thine Head too at the laſt: and therefore I charge you, do not bee made a King by them. At which the Childe ſighing, ſaid, I will bee torn in pieces firſt. Which falling ſo unexpectedly from one ſo young, it made the *King* rejoice exceedingly.

Another

Another Relation from the Ladie Eliſabeth's *own Hand.*

WHat the King ſaid to mee the nine and twentieth of *Jan.* 1648. beeing the laſt time I had the happineſs to ſee Him; Hee told mee, Hee was glad I was com, & although Hee had not time to ſaie much, yet ſomwhat Hee had to ſaie to mee, which Hee had not to another, or leav in writing; becauſ Hee feared their Crueltie was ſuch, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to mee. Hee wiſhed mee not to griev and torment my ſelf for Him; for that would bee a glorious death that Hee ſhould die; it beeing for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, & for maintaining the true Proteſtant Religion. Hee bid mee read Biſhop *Andrew's* Sermons, *Hooker's Eccleſiaſtical Politie*, and Biſhop *Laud's* Book againſt *Fiſher*, which would ground mee againſt Poperie. Hee told mee, Hee had forgiv'n all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them alſo; and commanded Us, and all the reſt of my Brothers & Siſters to forgive them. Hee bid mee tell my Mother, That His thoughts had never ſtraied from Her, and that His Love ſhould bee the ſame to the laſt. Withal, Hee commanded mee and my Brother to bee obedient to Her. And bid mee ſend His Bleſſing to the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters, with Commendation to all His Friends. So after Hee had giv'n mee His Bleſſing, I took my leav.

Further, Hee commanded Us all to forgive thoſe people, but never to truſt them; for they had been moſt falſ to Him, and to thoſe that gave them power, and Hee feared alſo to their own ſouls: And deſired mee not to griev for Him, for Hee ſhould die a *Martyr*, and that Hee doubted not but the Lord would ſettle His Throne upon His Son, and that Wee ſhould bee all happier, then Wee could have exſpected to have been, if Hee had lived: With manie other things, which at preſent I cannot remember. *Eliſabeth.*

Another Relation from the Ladie Eliſabeth.

THe *King* ſaid to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, that Hee would ſaie nothing to him but what was for the good of his ſoul: Hee told him, that Hee heard the Armie intended to make him King; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if hee regarded the welfare of his Soul; for hee had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon His Bleſſing, never to accept of it, unleſs it redounded lawfully upon him: And commanded him to fear the Lord, and hee would provide for him.

An Epitaph upon King CHARLS.

So fall's that ſtatelie Cedar: *while it ſtood,*
That was the onely Glorie of the Wood:
Great CHARLS, *thou earthlie God, Celeſtial Man,*
Whoſe life, like other's, though it were a Span;
Yet in that Span was comprehended more
Then Earth hath waters, or the Ocean ſhore.
Thy heav'nlie Virtues Angels ſhould reherſ;
It is a theme too high for humane Verſ.
Hee that would know Thee right then, let him look
Upon Thy rare incomparable Book,
And read it or'e and or'e; which if hee do,
Hee'l finde thee King, *&* Prieſt, *and* Prophet too.
And ſadly ſee our loſs; and, though in vain,
With fruitleſs wiſhes call Thee back again.
Nor ſhall Oblivion ſit upon Thy Herſ,
Though there were neither Monument nor Verſ.
Thy Suff'rings *&* *Thy* Death *let no man name.*
It was Thy Glorie, *but the Kingdom's* Shame.

J. H.

ΜΑ'ΡΤΤΣ, ὑπὲρ Θείων, Παζικῶν ϑ Νόμων, ὄχ' ἁπλῶ Σκηπτόχων ΚΑ'ΡΟΛΟΣ μ̃ ἔστιωλεν χερσὶν ἀλειτίων.

FINIS.

For Mr. *Alexander Henderſon.*

His Majeſties firſt Paper.

Mr. Henderſon,

I Know very well what a great diſadvantage it is for Me, to maintaine an Argument of Divinity with ſo able and learned a man as your ſelf, it being your, not My profeſſion; which really was the cauſe that made me deſire to hear ſome learned Man argue My Opinion with you, of whoſe abilities I might be confident, that I ſhould not be led into an errour, for want of having all which could be ſaid, laid open unto me: For indeed, My humour is ſuch, that I am ſtill partiall for that ſide, which I imagine ſuffers for the weakneſſe of thoſe that maintaine it; alwayes thinking that equall Champions would caſt the ballance on the other part; yet ſince that you (thinking that it will ſave time) deſire to go another way, I ſhall not conteſt with you in it, but treating you as my Phyſician, give you leave to take your own way of cure; only I thought fit to warn you, leſt if you, (not I) ſhould be miſtaken in this, you would be fain (in a manner) to begin anew.

Then know, that from My Infancy I was bleſt with the King My Fathers love, which, I thank God, was an unvaluable happineſſe to Me, all his days, and among all his cares for My education, his chief was to ſettle Me right in Religion; in the true knowledge of which, he made himſelfe ſo eminent to all the world, that, I am ſure, none can call in queſtion the brightneſſe of his Fame, in that particular, without ſhewing their own ignorant baſe malice: He it was, who laid in Me the

the grounds of Christianity, which to this day I have been constant in; so that whether the worthines of My Instructor be considered, or the not few years that I have been setled in My principles, it ought to be no strange thing, if it be found no easy worke to make me alter them; and the rather, that hitherto, I have (according to St. *Pauls* rule, *Rom.* 14. 22) been happy in *Not condemning My self, in that thing which I allow.* Thus having shewed you how, it remains, to tell you what, I believe, in relation to these present miserable distractions.

No one thing made me more reverence the Reformation of My Mother, the Church of *England*, than that it was done (according to the Apostles desence, *Acts* 24. 18.) *neither with multitude, nor with tumult*, but legally and orderly; and by those, whom I conceive to have only the reforming power; which with many other inducements, made me alwaies confident, that the work was very perfect, as to essentialls; for which number Church Government being undoubtedly one, I put no question, but that would have been likewise altered, if their had been cause, which opinion of mine, was soon turned into more than a confidence, when I perceived that in this parttcular (as I must say of all the rest) we retained nothing but according as it was deduced from the Apostles to be the constant universall custom of the primitive Church; and that it was of such consequence, as by the alteration of it, We should deprive our selves of a lawful Priesthood, & then, how the Sacraments can be duly administred, is easy to judge: These are the principall Reasons, which make me believe that Bishops are necessary for a Church, and, I think, sufficient for Me (if I had no more) not to give My consent for their expulsion out of *England*; butt I have another obligation, that to My particular, is a no less tie of Conscience, which is, My *Coronation Oath*:

Oath: Now if (as S. *Paul* saith, *Rom.* 14. 23.) *He that doubteth is damned if he eat*, what can I expect, if I should not only give way knowingly to My peoples sinning, but likewise be perjured My selfe?

Now consider, ought I not to *keep My self from presumptious sins?* and you know who says, *What doth it profit a man, though he should gain the whole World, and lose his own Soule?* Wherefore My constant maintenance of *Episcopacy* in *England*, (where there was never any other Government since Christianity was in this Kingdom) Me thinks, should be rather commended than wondered at; My Conscience directing Me to maintaine the laws of the Land, which being only My endeavours at this time, I desire to know of you, *What warrant there is in the Word of God, for Subjects to endeavour to force their Kings Conscience, or to make him alter Laws against his will?* If this be not My present case, I shall be glad to be mistaken; or, if My judgement in Religion hath been misled all this time, I shall be willing to be better directed: till when, you must excuse Me, to be constant to the Grounds which the *King My Father* taught Me.

Newcastle May 29.
1646. *C. R.*

For His MAJESTY.

Mr. *Alex. Hendersons* first Paper.

SIR,

1. IT is your Majesties Royall goodnesse, and not My merit, that hath made your Majesty to conceive any opinion of My abilities; which (were they worthy of the smallest testimony from your Majesty) ought

ought in all duty to be improved for your Majeſties ſatisfaction. And this intended in my coming here at this time, by a free, yet modeſt expreſſion of the true motives and inducements which drew my mind to the diſlike of Epiſcopall Government, wherein I was bred in my younger years in the Univerſity. Like as I did apprehend that it was not your Majeſties purpoſe to have the Queſtion diſputed by Divines on both ſides; which I would never (to the wronging of the cauſe) have undertaken alone; and which ſeldom or never hath proved an effectuall way, for finding of truth, or moving the minds of men to relinquiſh their former Tenents, *Dum res tranſit à judicio in affectum*, witneſſe the Polemicks between the Papiſts and us, and among our ſelves about the matter now in hand, theſe many years paſt.

2. Sir, when I conſider your Majeſties education under the hands of ſuch a Father; the length of time wherein your Majeſty hath been ſetled in your principles of Church-Goverment; the Arguments which have continually in privat and publick, eſpecially of late at *Oxford*, filled your Majeſties ears for the Divine right thereof; your *Coronation oath*, and divers State reaſons which your Majeſty doth not mention, I doe not wonder, nor think it any ſtrange thing that your Majeſty hath not at firſt given place to a contrary impreſſion. I remember that the famous *Ioannes Picus Mirandula* proveth by irrefragable reaſons (which no rationall man will contradict) *That no man hath ſo much power over his own underſtanding as to make himſelf believe what he will, or to think that to be true which his reaſon telleth him is falſe, much leſſe is it poſſible for any man to have his reaſon commanded by the will, or at the pleaſure of another.*

2. It is a true ſaying of the Schoolmen, *Voluntas imperat intellectui quoad exercitium, non quod ſpecificationem*

onem, Mine own will, or the will of another may command me to think upon a matter: but no will or command can conſtrain me to determine otherwiſe than my reaſon teacheth me. Yet *Sir*, I hope your Majeſty wil acknowledg, (for your paper profeſſeth no leſs) that according to the ſaying of *Ambroſe*, *Non eſt pudor ad meliora tranſire*, it is neither ſin nor ſhame to change to the better: *Symmachus* in one of his Epiſtles (I think to the Emperour *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian*) allegeth all thoſe motives, from education, from preſcription of time, from worldly proſperity, and the flouriſhing condition of the *Roman* Empire, and from the laws of the Land, to perſwade them to conſtancy in the antient Pagan profeſſion of the *Romans*, againſt the embracing of the Chriſtian Faith. The like reaſons were uſed by the Jewes for *Moſes* againſt *Chriſt*; and may be uſed both for Popery and for the Papacy it ſelf, againſt the Reformation of Religion and Church-Government; and therefore can have no more ſtrength againſt the change now, than they had in former times.

3. But your Majeſty may perhaps ſay, That this is *Petitio Principii*, and nothing elſe but the begging of the Queſtion; and I confeſſe it were ſo, if there can be no reaſon brought for a Reformation or Change; your Majeſty reverences the Reformation of the Church of *England*, as being done legally and orderly, and by thoſe who had the Reforming power: and I do not deny, but it were to be wiſht that Religion where there is need, were alwaies reformed in that manner, and by ſuch power, and that it were not committed to the Prelates, who have greateſt need to be reformed themſelves, not left to the multitude, whom God ſtirreth up when Princes are negligent: Thus did *Iacob* reform his owne Family, *Moſes* deſtroyed the golden Calf, the good Kings of *Iudah* reformed the Churches in their time: but that ſuch reformation

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mation hath been perfect, I cannot admit. *Asa* took away Idolatry, but his Reformation was not perfect, for *Jehoſaphat* removed the high places, yet was not his Reformation perfect, for it was *Hezekiah* that brake the brazen Serpent, and *Joſiah* deſtroyed the Idol-Temples, who therefore beareth this Elogie *That like unto him there was no King before him.* It is too well known that the Reformation of K. *Hen.* 8. was moſt imperfect in the Eſſentials of Doctrine, Worſhip and Government: And although it proceeded by ſome degrees afterward, yet the Government was never reformed, the Head was changed, *Dominus non Dominium*, and the whole limbs of the Antichriſtian Hierarchy retained, upon what ſnares and temptations of Avarice and Ambition, the great Enchanters of the Clergy, I need not expreſſe. It was a hard ſaying of *Romanorum Malleus Groſted* of *Lincoln*, That Reformation was not to be expected, *Niſi in ore gladii cruentandi*: yet this I may ſay, that the Laodicean lukewarmneſſe of Reformation here, hath been matter of continued complaints to many of the godly in this Kingdom; occaſion of more Schiſm and Separation than ever was heard of in any other Church; and of unſpeakable grief and ſorrow to other Churches which God did bleſſe with greater purity of Reformation. The glory of this great work we hope is reſerved for your Majeſty, that to your comfort and everlaſting fame the praiſe of godly *Joſiah* may be made yours; which yet will be no diſpraiſe to your Royall Father, or *Edward* the ſixth, or any other religious Princes before you; none of them having ſo fair an opportunity as is now by the ſupreme providence put into your Royall hands. My ſoul trembleth to think and to foreſee, what may be the event, if this opportunity be neglected. I will neither uſe the words of *Mordecai, Eſth.* 4. 14. nor what *Savanarola* told another

ther *Charls*, becauſe I hope better things from your Majeſty.

4. To the Argument brought by your Majeſty (which I believe none of your Doctors, had they bin all about you, could more briefly, and yet ſo fully and ſtrongly have expreſſed) [*That nothing was retained in this Church but according as it was deduced from the Apoſtles to the conſtant univerſall practice of the Primitive Church; and that it was of ſuch conſequence as by the alteration of it, We ſhould deprive our ſelves of the lawfulneſſe of Prieſthood* (I think your Majeſty means a lawful Miniſtery) *and then how the Sacraments can be adminiſtred is eaſie to judge.*] I humbly offer theſe conſiderations: Firſt, what was not in the times of the Apoſtles, cannot be deduced fom them: We ſay in *Scotland*, it cannot be brought But, that is not the Ben; but (not to inſiſt now in a Liturgy, and things of that kinde) there wer no ſuch Hierarchy, no ſuch difference betwixt a Biſhop and a Presbyter, in the times of the Apoſtles, and therefore it cannot thence be deduced; for I conceive it to be as clear as if it were written with a Suu-beam, that Presbyter and Biſhop are to the Apoſtles one and the ſame thing, no majority, no inequality or difference of office, power, or degree betwixt the one and the other, but a meer identity in all. 2. That the Apoſtles intending to ſet down the Offices and Officers of the Church, and ſpeaking ſo often of them, and of their gifts and duties, and that, not upon occaſion, but of ſet purpoſe, do neither expreſſe nor imply any ſuch Paſtor or Biſhop as hath power over other Paſtors, although it be true, that they have diſtinctly and particularly expreſt the office, gifts, and duties of the meaneſt Officers, ſuch as Deacons, 3. That in the Miniſtery of the New Teſtament there is a comely, beautifull, and divine order and ſubordination; one kinde

kinde of Miniſters both ordinary and extraordinary, being placed in degree and dignity one before another, as the Apoſtles firſt, the Evangeliſts, Paſtors, Doctors, &c. in their own ranks: but we cannot finde in Offices of the ſame kinde, that one hath majority of power, or priority of degree before another; no Apoſtle above other Apoſtles (unleſſe in morall reſpects) no Evangeliſt above other Evangeliſts; of Deacon above other Deacons; why then a Paſtor above other Paſtors? In all other ſorts of Miniſters ordinary and extraordinary a parity in their own kinde, onely in the office of Paſtor an inequality. 4. That the whole power and all the parts of the Miniſtery, which are commonly called, *The power of Order and Iuriſdiction*, are by the Apoſtles declared to be common to the Presbyter and Biſhop: And that, *Matth.* 15. 16, 17. the gradation in matter of Diſcipline or Church-cenſures, is from one, to two, or more; and if he ſhall neglect them, tell it to the Church; he ſaith not tell it to the Biſhop: there is no place left to a retrogradation from more to one, were he never ſo eminent. If theſe conſiderations do not ſatisfie, your Majeſty may have more, or the ſame further cleared.

5. Secondly, I do humbly deſire your Majeſty to take notice of the fallacy of that Argument, from the practice of the Primitive Church, and the univerſall conſent of the Fathers. It is the Argument of the Papiſts for ſuch traditions as no Orthodox Divine will admit. The Law and Teſtimony muſt be the Rule. We can have no certaine knowledge of the practice univerſall of the Church for many years; *Euſebius* the prime Hiſtorian confeſſeth ſo much: the learned *Ioſephus Scaliger* teſtifieth, That from the end of the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles* untill a good time after, no certainty can be had from Eccleſiaſtical Authors

thors about Church matters. It is true, *Diotrephes* ſought the preheminence in the Apoſtles times, and the myſtery of iniquity did then begin to work; and no doubt in after-times ſome puffed up with Ambition, and others overtaken with weakneſſe, endeavoured alteration of Church-Government, but that all the learned and godly of thoſe times conſented to ſuch a change as is talked of afterwards, will never be proved.

6. Thirdly, I will never think that your Majeſty will deny the lawfulneſſe of a Miniſtery, and the due adminiſtration of the Sacraments in the Reformed Churches, which have no Dioceſan Biſhops, ſith it is not onely manifeſt by Scripture, but a great many of the ſtrongeſt Champions for Epiſcopacy, do confeſſe, that Presbyters may Ordain other Presbyters; and that Baptiſm adminiſtred by a private perſon, wanting a publick Calling, or by a Midwife, and by a Presbyter although not ordained by a Biſhop, are not one and the ſame thing.

7. Concerning the other Argument taken from your Majeſties Coronation Oath; I confeſſe, that both in the taking and keeping of an Oath (ſo ſacred a thing is it, and ſo high a point of Religion) much tenderneſſe is required: and farre bee it from us, who deſire to obſerve our own Solemne Oath, to preſſe your Majeſty with the violation of yours. Yet Sir, I will crave your leave, in all humbleneſſe and ſincerity to lay before your Majeſties eyes this one thing, (which perhaps might require a larger diſcourſe) that although no humane authority can diſpenſe with an Oath, *Quia Religio juramenti pertinet ad forum Divinum*; yet in ſome caſes it cannot be denied but the Obligation of an Oath ceaſeth: As when we ſwear homage and obedience to our Lord and Superiour, who afterwards ceaſeth to be

be our Lord and Superiour; for then the formall cause of the Oath is taken away, and therefore the Obligation, *Sublata causa tollitur effectus; sublato relato, tollitur Correlatum.* Or when any Oath hath a speciall reference to the benefit of those to whom I make the promise, if we have their desire or consent, the Obligation ceaseth; because all such Oathes from the nature of the thing, do include a condition. When the Parliaments of both Kingdoms have covenanted for the abolishing or altering of a Law, your Majesties Oath doth not binde you, or your Conscience to the observing of it; otherwise no Laws could be altered by the Legislative power. This I conceive hath been the ground of removing Episcopall Government in *Scotland*, and of removing the Bishops out of the Parliament of *England*. And I assure my self, that your Majesty did not intend at the taking of your Oath, that although both Houses of Parliament should finde an alteration necessary, although (which God Almighty avert) you should lose your selfe, and your Posterity and Crown, that you would never consent to the abolishing of such a Law. If your Majesty still object, *that the matter of the Oath is necessary and immutable*, that doth not belong to this, but to the former Argument.

8. I have but one word more concerning your pietty to your Royall Father, and teacher of happy memory, with which your Majesty does conclude. Your Majesty knows that King *James* never admitted Episcopacy upon Divine Right; That his Majesty did swear and subscribe to the Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline of the Church of *Scotland*, that in the Preface of the latter Edition of *Basilicon Doron*, his Majesty gives an honourable testimony to those that loved better the simplicity of the Gospell, than the Pomp and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, and that

that he conceived the Prelates to savour of the Popish Hierarchy, and that (could his Ghost now speak to your Majesty) He would not advise your Majesty to run such hazards for those men who will chuse rather to pull down your Throne with their own ruine, than that they perish alone. The Lord give your Majesty a wise and discerning Spirit to chuse that in time which is right.

June 3. 1646.

For Mr. *Alex. Henderson.*

A Reply to His Answer to My first Paper, *June* 6. 1646.

His Majesties second Paper.

Mr. *Henderson.*

IF it had been the Honour of the Cause which I looked after, I would not have undertaken to put Pen to paper, or singly to have maintained this Argument against you, (whose Answer to My former paper is sufficient, without further proofs, to justifie My opinion of your abilities) but, it being meerly (as you know) for My particular satisfaction, I assure you that a Disputation of well chosen Divines, would be most effectuall; and, I believe you cannot but grant, that I must best know, how My self may be best satisfied, for certainly My taste cannot be guided by another mans palate, & indeed I will say, that when it comes (as it must) to Probations, I must have either *persons* or *books* to clear the Allegations, or it will be impossible to give Me satisfaction: The foreseeing of which, made Me at first (for the saving of Time) desire that some of those Divines, which I gave you in a List, might be sent for,

2. Con-

2 Concerning your second Section, I were much too blame, if I should not submit to that saying of Saint *Ambrose* which you mention, for I would be unwilling to be found lesse ingenuous than you shew your self to be in the former part of it; wherefore My Reply is, That as I shall not be ashamed *to change for the better*, so I must see that it is *better* before I *change*, otherwise, inconstancy in this were both sin and shame; & remember (what your self hath learnedly enforced) that *no mans reason can be commanded by another mans will.*

3. Your third begins, but I cannot say that it goes on with that Ingenuity, which the other did; for I do not understand, how those Examples cited out of the Old Testament do any way prove that the way of *Reformation*, which I commend, hath not been the most perfect, or, that any other is lawfull, those having been all by the Regal Authority; and because *Henry the eighths Reformation* was not perfect, will it prove that of King *Edward* and Queen *Elizabeth* to be unperfect? I believe a new *mood* and *figure* must be found out to form a *Syllogisme*, whereby to prove that: but however, you are mistaken; for, no man who truly understands the *English Reformation*, will derive it from *Henry the Eighth*, for he onely gave the occasion; it was his Son who began, and Queen *Eliz.* that perfected it; nor did I ever averre, that the beginning of any humane Action was perfect, no more than you can prove that *God hath ever given approbation to Multitudes to Reform the negligence of Princes*: for, you know, there is much difference between *Permission* and *Approbation*: But all this time I find no *Reasons* (according to your promise) for a *Reformation* or *Change* (I mean since Queen *Elizabeths* time.) As for your *Romanorum Malleus* his saying, it is well you come off it, with [*yet this I may say*] for it seems to imply, as if you neither ought nor would justifie that *bloody ungodly saying*: and for your comparing our Reformation here to the *Laodicean Lukewarmnesse* proved by Complaints, Grievings, &c. all that doth, and but unhandsomely, *Petere Principium*; nor can Generalls satisfie Me; for, you must first prove, that those men had reason to complain those Churches to be grieved, and, how we were truly the causers of this Schism and separation: as for those words which you will not use, I will not answer.

4. Here indeed you truly repeat the first of My two main arguments; but by your favour, you take (as I conceive) a wrong way to convince Me; it is I must make good the *Affirmative*, for I believe a *Negative* cannot be proved: instead of which, if you had made appear the *practice* of the *Presbyterian Government* in the *Primitive times*, you had done much; for I dare averre that this Government was never practised before *Calvins time*; the *affirmative* of which, I leave you to prove; My task being to shew the *lawfulnesse* and *succession of Episcopacy*, and as I believe, the *necessity* of it: for doing whereof, I must have such Books as I shall call for; which possibly upon perusal, may, one way or another give Me satisfaction; but I cannot absolutely promise it without the assistance of some Learned man, whom I can trust, to find out all such Citations, as I have use of: wherefore blame Me not, if time be unnecessarily lost.

5. Now for the *fallaciousnesse* of My *Argument* (to My knowledge) it was never My *practice*, nor do I confesse to have begun now: For, if the *practice of the Primitive Church*, and the *universall consent of the Fathers*, be not a convincing Argument, when the *interpretation of Scripture is doubtfull*, I know nothing; For, if this be not; then of necessity the *interpretation* of

of private spirits must be admitted: the which contradicts St. *Peter*, 2 *Pet.* 1. 20. is the *Mother* of all *Sects*, and will (if not prevented) bring these Kingdoms into confusion: and to say, that an argument is ill, because the *Papists* use it, or, that such a thing is good because it is the custome of some of the *Reformed Churches*; cannot weigh with Me, untill you prove these to be *infallible*, or to maintain *no Truth*: and how *Diotrephes* ambition (who directly opposed the Apostle *John*) can be an Argument against *Episcopacy*, I do not understand.

6. When I am made a Judge over the *Reformed Churches*, then, and not before, will I censure their *Actions*; as you must prove, before I confesse it, that *Presbyters without a Bishop may lawfully ordaine other Presbyters*: and as for the Administration of Baptisme, as I think none will say, that a Woman can lawfully, or duly Administer it, though when done it be *valid*; so none ought to do it, but a lawful *Presbyter*, whom you cannot deny, but to be absolutely necessary for the *Sacrament* of the *Eucharist*.

7. You make a learned succinct discourse of *Oaths* in generall, and their severall obligations, to which I fully agree; intending, in the particular now in question, to be guided by you own *Rule*, which is [*when an Oath hath a speciall reference to the benefit of those to whom I make the promise, if we have their desire, or consent, the Obligation ceaseth.*] Now, it must be known *to whom* this Oath hath reference, and to *whose benefit*: the Answer is clear, only to the *Church of England*, as by the Record will be plainly made appear; and you must mistake in alleging, that the two *Houses of Parliament* (especially as they are now constituted) can have this *Disobligatory power*, for (besides that they are not named in it) I am confident to make it clearly appear to you, that this Church never did sub-

submit, nor was subordinate to them; and that it was only the *King* and *Clergy*, who made the *Reformation*, the *Parliament* meerly serving to help to give the *civil Sanction*: all this being proved (of which I make no question) it must necessarily follow, that it is only the *Church* of *England* (in whose favour I took this Oath) that can release me from it: wherefore when the *Church of England* (being lawfully assembled) shall declare that I am free, then, and not before, I shall esteem My self so.

8. To your last, concerning the King My Father, of happy and famous Memory, both for his *Piety* and *Learning*; I must tell you, that I had the happiness, to know him much better than you; wherefore I desire you, not to be too confident in the knowledge of his Opinions; for, I dare say, should his *Ghost now speak*, he would tell you, *that a bloody Reformation was never lawfull, as not Warranted by Gods word*, and that *Preces & lacrymæ sunt Arma Ecclesiæ.*

9. To conclude, having replyed to all your Paper, I cannot but observe to you, that you have given Me no Answer to My last *Quære*; it may be you are (as *Chaucer* sayes) like the people of *England*, *What they not like they never understand*: But in earnest, that *Question* is so pertinent to the purpose in hand, that it will much serve for My satisfaction; and besides it may be usefull for other things.

Newcastle, June 6. 1646. *C. R.*

For His MAJESTY.

Mr. *Alex. Hendersons* second Paper.

SIR,

THe smaller the encouragements be, in relation to the successe, (which how small they are, your Maje-

Majeſty well knowes:) the more apparent, and, I hope the more acceptable will my obedience be, in that which in all humility I now go about, at your Majeſties command: yet while I conſider, that the way of man is not in himſelf, nor is it in man that walketh, to direct his owne ſteps; and when I remember how many ſupplications, with ſtrong crying and tears, have been openly and in ſecret offered up in your Majeſties behalfe, unto God that heareth prayer, I have no reaſon to deſpair of a bleſſed ſucceſſe.

1. I have been averſe, from a Diſputation of Divines, 1. For ſaving of time; which the preſent exigence and extremity of affairs, make more than ordinarily precious; While *Archimides* at *Syracuſe* was drawing his figures and circlings in the ſand, *Marcellus* interrupted his Demonſtration. 2. Becauſe the common reſult of Diſputes of this kinde, anſwerable to prejudicate opinions of the parties, is rather Victory than Verity; while *tanquam tentativi Dialectici*, they ſtudy more to overcome their adverſe party, than to be overcome of Truth, although this be the most glorious Victory. 3. When I was commanded to come hither, no ſuch thing was propoſed to me, nor expected by Me. I never judged ſo meanly of the Cauſe, nor ſo highly of my ſelf, as to venture it upon ſuch weakneſſe. Much more might be ſpoken to the purpoſe; but I forbear.

2. I will not further trouble your Majeſty with that which is contained in the ſecond Section; hoping that your Majeſty will no more inſiſt upon *Education, preſcription of time, &c.* which are ſufficient to prevent Admiration, but (which your Majeſty acknowledges) muſt give place to Reaſon, and are no ſure ground of reſolution of our Faith, in any point to be believed: although it be true that the moſt part of

men make theſe and the like, to be the ground and rule of their Faith: and Evidence that their Faith is not a Divine Faith, but an humane Credulity.

3. Concerning *Reformation of Religion* in the third Section; I had need have a preface to ſo Thorny a Theam, as your Majeſty hath brought me upon. 1. For the *Reforming power*; it is conceived, when a Generall Defection, like a Deluge, hath covered the whole face of the Church, ſo that ſcarcely the tops of the Mountains do appear, a generall Councell is neceſſary; but, becauſe that can hardly be obtained, ſeverall Kingdoms (which we ſee was done, at the time of the Reformation) are to reforme themſelves and that by the anthority of their Prince, and Magiſtrates: if the Prince or ſupreme Magiſtrate, be unwilling, then may the Inferiour Magiſtrate and the people, being before rightly informed in the grounds of Religion, lawfully Reform, within their own ſphere; and if the light ſhine upon all, or the Major part, they may, after all other means aſſayed, make a publick Reformation. This, before this time, I never wrote or ſpoke; yet the maintainers of this Doctrine, conceive that they are able to make it good. But, Sir, were I worthy to give advice to your Majeſty, or to the Kings, and ſupreme Powers on Earth, my humble Opinion would be, that they ſhould draw the mindes, tongues, and pens of the learned, to diſpute about other matters, than the power or Prerogative of Kings and Princes; and in this kind your Majeſty hath ſuffered and loſt more, than will eaſily be reſtored to your ſelf or your poſterity, for a long time. It is not denyed but the prime Reforming power, is in Kings and Princes: *Quibus--deficientibus*, it comes to the inferiour Magiſtrate, *Quibus Deficientibus*, it deſcendeth to the body of the people; ſuppoſing that there is a neceſſity of Reformation, and that by no

means it can be obtained of their Superiours. It is true that ſuch a Reformation, is more imperfect, in reſpect of the inſtruments, and manner of procedure, yet for the moſt part, more pure and perfect in relation to the effect and product. And for this end did cite the examples of old Reformation by Regal Authority; of which none was perfect, in the ſecond way of perfection, except that of *Joſiah*. Concerning the ſaying of *Groſtead*, whom the *Cardinalls at Rome* confeſt to be a more Godly man, than any of themſelves, it was his complaint, and prediction of what was likely to enſue, not his deſire, or Election, if Reformation could have been obtained, in the ordinary way. I might bring two impartiall Witneſſes, *Jewel* and *Bilſon*, both famous Engliſh Biſhops, to prove that the Tumults and troubles raiſed in *Scotland*, at the time of Reformation, were to be imputed to the Papiſts oppoſing of the Reformation, both of Doctrine and Diſcipline, as an Hereticall innovation; and not to be aſcribed to the Nobility, or people, who under God, were the Inſtruments of it; intending and ſeeking nothing, but the purging out of Errour, and ſetting of the truth. 2. Concerning the Reformation of the Church of *England*, I conceive, whether it was begun or not, in King *Henry* the eighths time, it was not finiſhed by Queen *Elizabeth*: the Father ſtirred the humours of the diſeaſed Church; but neither the Son nor the Daughter (although we have great reaſon to bleſſe God for both) did purge them out perfectly: This perfection is reſerved for your Majeſty. Where it is ſaid, *that all this time I bring no Reaſons, for a further change*; the fourth Section, of my laſt paper, hath many hints of Reaſons againſt *Epiſcopall Government*, with an offer of more or clearing of thoſe; which your Majeſty hath not thought fit to take notice of. And learned men have obſerved ma-

ny defects in that Reformation: As that the Government of the Church of *England*, (for about this is the Queſtion now) is not builded upon the foundation of *Chriſt* and the *Apoſtles*; which they, at leaſt cannot deny, who profeſſe *Church-Government* to be *mutable* and *ambulatory*; and ſuch were the greater part of *Arch-Biſhops* and *Biſhops* in *England*, contenting themſelves with the *Conſtitutions* of the Church, and the *Authority* and *Munificence* of Princes, till of late, that ſome few have pleaded it to be *Jure Divino*: *That, the Engliſh Reformation hath not perfectly purged out the Roman Leaven*; which is one of the Reaſons that have given ground to the comparing of this Church to the Church of *Laodicea*, as being neither hot nor cold, neither *Popiſh nor Reformed*, but of a Lukewarm temper; betwixt the two: *That it hath depraved the Diſcipline of the Church, by conforming of it to the Civil policy*: *That it hath added many Church Offices, higher an lower, unto thoſe inſtituted by the Son of God*; which is as unlawfull as to take away Offices warranted by the Divine inſtitution: And other the like, which have moved ſome to apply this ſaying to the Church of *England*, *multi ad perfectionem pervenerint*; *niſi jam ſe perveniſſe crederent.*

4. In my Anſwer to the firſt of your Majeſties many Arguments, I brought a Breviate of ſome Reaſons to prove, *That a Biſhop and Presbyter are one and the ſame in Scripture*: from which, by neceſſary conſequence I did infer the Negative; Therefore, no difference in Scripture between a *Biſhop* and a *Presbyter*; the one name ſignifying, *Induſtriam Curiæ paſtoralis*; the other, *Sapientiæ Maturitatem*, ſaith *Beda*. And whereas your Majeſty averres, *That the Presbyterian Government was never practiſed, Before* Calvins *time*; Your Majeſtie knowes,

the common Objection of the *Papiſts* againſt the *Reformed Churches*; Where was your Church, your Reformation, your Doctrine, before *Luthers* time? One part of the common Anſwer is, *That it was from the beginning, and is to be found in Scripture*. The ſame I affirm of Presbyterian Government: And for the proving of this, the *Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter*, have made manifeſt, *that the Primitive Chriſtian Church at* Ieruſalem *was governed by a Presbytery*: While they ſhew, First, That, the Church of *Ieruſalem* conſiſted of more Congregations than one, from the multitude of Believers, from the many Apoſtles, and other Preachers in the Church, and from the Diverſity of Languages among the believers. 2. That all thoſe congregations, were under one Presbyteriall government, becauſe they were, for Government, one Church, *Acts* eleven, *verſe* twenty two, twenty ſix. And becauſe that Church was governed by Elders, *Acts* 11. 30. Which were Elders of that Church, and did meet together for Acts of Government; And the Apoſtles themſelves, in that meeting, *Acts* 15. acted not as Apoſtles, but as Elders: ſtating the Queſtion, debating it, in the ordinary way of diſputation; and having, by ſearch of Scripture, found the will of God, they concluded, *It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and us*: which in the judgment of the Learned, cannot be ſpoken by any aſſembly, upon like evidences of Scripture. The like Presbyterian Government had place in the Churches of *Corinth*, *Epheſus*, *Theſſalonica*, &c. in the times of the Apoſtles; and after them, for many years, when one of the Presbytery was made *Epiſcopus præſes*, even then, *Communi Presbyterorum Conſilio gubernabantur*, ſaith Saint *Ierome*, *& Epiſcopos magis conſuetudine, quam Diſpoſitionis Divinæ veritate. Presbyteris eſſe majores*, & *Communem debere Eccleſiam regere.*

5. Far be it from me to think ſuch a thought, as that your Majeſty did intend any fallacy, in your other main Argument, from Antiquity. As we are to diſtinguiſh between *Intentio operantis*, *& Conditio operis*, ſo may we in this caſe conſider the difference between *Intentio Argumentis*, *& Conditio Argumenti*. And where your Majeſty argues, That, if Your Opinion be not admitted, we will be forced to give place to the *Interpretations of private Spirits*, which is contrary to the Doctrine of the Apoſtle St. *Peter* and will prove to be of dangerous conſequence; I humbly offer to be conſidered by your Majeſty, what ſome of chief note among the Papiſts themſelves have taught us, That the *Interpretation* of *Scripture*, and the *Spirits* whence they proceed, may be called *private* in a threefold ſence. 1. *Ratione perſonæ*, if the Interpreter be of a private condition. *Ratione modi & Medii*, when perſons, although not private, uſe not the publick means which are neceſſary for finding out the Truth, but follow their own fancies. *Ratione finis*, when the interpretation is not propoſed as Authenticall to bind others, but is intended only for our own private ſatisfaction. The firſt is not to be deſpiſed; the ſecond is to be exploded, and is condemned by the Apoſtle *Peter*; the third ought not to be cenſured: But that Interpretation which is Authenticall, and of Supreme Authority, which even mans Conſcience is bound to yeeld unto, is of an higher nature. And although the Generall Councell ſhould reſolve it, and the conſent of the Fathers ſhould be had unto it, yet there muſt alwaies be place left to the judgment of diſcretion, as *Davenant*, late Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, beſides divers others, hath learnedly made appear in his book, *De Iudice controverſiarum*; where alſo the power of Kings in matter of Religion,

is ſolidly and unpartially determined. Two words onely I adde; one is, that notwithſtanding all that is pretended from Antiquity, a Biſhop having ſole power of Ordination and Juriſdiction, will never be found in *prime Antiquity*. The other is, That many of the Fathers did, unwittingly, bring forth that *Antichriſt*, which was conceived in the times of the Apoſtles, and therefore are incompetent Judges in the Queſtion of *Hierarchy*. And upon the other part, the Lights of the Chriſtian Church, at, and ſince the beginning of the Reformation, have diſcovered many ſecrets, concerning the *Antichriſt* and his *Hierarchy*, which were not known to former Ages: And diverſe of the Learned, in the Roman Church, have not feared to pronounce, That whoſoever denies the true and literal ſenſe of many Texts of Scripture, to have been found out in this laſt Age, is unthankfull to God, who hath ſo plentifully powred forth his Spirit upon the Children of this Generations, and ungrateful towards thoſe men, who with ſo great pains, ſo happy ſucceſſe, and ſo much benefit to Gods Church, have travelled therein: This might be inſtanced in many places of Scripture: I winde together *Diotrephes* and the *Myſtery of Iniquity*, the one as an old example of Church-ambition, which was alſo too palpable in the Apoſtles themſelves: And the other as a cover of Ambition, afterwards diſcovered; which two, brought forth the *great Myſtery* of the Papacy at laſt.

6. Although your Majeſty be not made a Judge of the Reformed Churches, yet you ſo far cenſure them, and their actions, as, without Biſhops, in your judgement they cannot have a lawfull Miniſtery, nor a due Adminiſtration of the Sacraments: Againſt which dangerous and deſtructive Opinion I did alledge what I purpoſed, your Majeſty would not have denied. 1. That Presbyters without a Biſhop, may Ordain

dain other Presbyters. 2. That Baptiſm, adminiſtred by ſuch a Presbyter, is another thing than Baptiſm adminiſtred by a private perſon, or a Midwife. Of the firſt, your Majeſty cals for proof: I told before that in Scripture, it is manifeſt, 1 Tim. 4. 14. *Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by the propheſie, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery*; ſo it is in the Engliſh Tranſlation: and the word *Presbytery*, ſo often as it is uſed in the New Teſtament, alwayes ſignifies the *perſons*, and not the *Office*. And although the Offices of *Biſhop* and *Presbyter* were diſtinct; yet doth not the *Presbyter* derive his power of Order, from the *Biſhop*. The Evangeliſts were inferiour to the Apoſtles; yet had they their power, not from the Apoſtles, but from CHRIST. The ſame I affirm of the 70 Diſciples, who had their power immediately from CHRIST, no leſſe than the Apoſtles had theirs. It may upon better reaſon be averred, That the Biſhops have their power from the Pope, than that Presbyters have their power from Prelates. It is true, *Ierome* ſaith, *Quid facit, excepta ordinatione Epiſcopus, quod non facit Presbyter*; but in the ſame place he proves from Scripture, that *Epiſcopus & Presbyter* are one and the ſame; and therefore when he appropriates Ordination to the Biſhop, he ſpeaketh of the degenerated cuſtome of his time. 2. Concerning *Baptiſm*, a private perſon may perform the external Action and Rites, both of it, and of the Euchariſt; yet is neither of the two a Sacrament, or hath any efficacy, unleſſe it be done by him that is lawfully called thereunto, or by a perſon made publick and clothed with authority by Ordination. This Errour in the matter of Baptiſm, is begot by an other Errour, of the abſolute Neceſſity of Baptiſm.

7. To that which hath been ſaid, concerning your Majeſties Oath, I ſhall adde nothing; not being willing

ling to enter upon the Question, of the subordination of the Church to the Civil power, whether the King or Parliament, or both, and to either of them, in their own place. Such an headship as the kings of *England* hath claimed, and such a Supremacy as the 2 Houses of Parliament crave, with the appeals from the supreme Ecclesiasticall Iudicature to them as set over the Church, in the same line of Subordination, I do utterly disclaim, upon such reasons to give my self satisfaction, although no man shall be mor willing to submit to civill powers, each one in their own place, and more unwilling to make any trouble than my self: only concerning the application of the Generalls of an Oath to the particular case now in hand; under favour, I conceive not how the Clergy of the Church of *England* is, or ought to be principally intended in your Oath. For, although they were esteemed to be the Representative Church, yet even that is for the benefit of the Church Collective; *Salus populi*, being *Suprema Lex*, and to be principally intended. Your Maiesty knows it was so in the Church of *Scotland*, where the like alteration was made. And if nothing of this kind can be done without the consent of the Clergy, what Reformation can be expected in *France*, or *Spaine*, or *Rome* it selfe? Its not to be expected, that the *Pope*, or *Prelat* will consent to their own ruine.

8. I will not presume upon any secret knowledge of the Opinions held by the King your Majesties Father of famous Memory; they being much better known to your Majesty. I did onely produce, what was professt by him, before the World: And although *Prayers and Tears be the Armes of the Church*; yet, it is neither acceptable to God, nor conducible for Kings and Princes, to *force the Church to put on these Armes*: Nor could I ever hear a reason, why a necessary Defensive War against unjust Violence is unlawfull,

ful, although it be joyned with offence and invasion which is intended for Defence, but so that Arms are laid down when the offensive war ceaseth: by which it doth appear, that the War on the other side, was, in the nature thereof, Defensive.

9. Concerning the forcing of Conscience, which I pretermitted in my other Paper, I am forced now but without forcing of my Conscience, to speake of. Our Conscience may be said to be forced; either by our selves, or by others. By our selves: 1. When we stop the ear of our Conscience and will not hearken, or give place to information, resolving obstinately, *Ne si persuaseris, persuadebis*; which is no lesse than the resisting the Holy Ghost, and the hardning of our hearts. 2. Or when they stop the mouth, and suppresse the clamours of our Conscience; resolving rather to suffer the worm to gnaw, and the fire to burn inwardly, than to make profession of that we are convinced to be Truth. 3. Or when we sear our Conscience, as with an hot Iron, that it becommeth senseless; which is the punishment of the former: unto which is opposed, the truly tender Conscience; such as *Iosiah* had, 2 *Kings* 22. 19 Again, 1. Our *Conscience* is said to be forced by others, when they obtrude upon us what is in it selfe evil and unlawful; which if it admit, against our own Conscience, we sin two wayes? one is, *by doing that which is in it self evill and unlawful*; the other is, *by doing it against a dictate of Conscience*, which is a contempt of God, whose Vicegerent it is. 2. Or when others urge us to do that which is in it self good, or may lawfully be done, but through errour of Conscience we judge it to be evil & unlawful: in this case if we do not that which is prest upon us, we sin, because the thing is good and lawful: And if we do it, we sin, because we do against our Conscience. Which in this case bindeth; but obligeth not: and yet there is a way to escape out of this Labyrinth, it being repugnant

pugnant to the equity of the will of God to lay a ne-*cessity* of sinning upon any man: The only way is, to *lay aside a Conscience*, it beiing a part of the *Old Man* which we are commanded to *put off*; otherwise, we be-ing sufficiently informed, and yet cleaving to our old error, we rather do violence to our *conscience*, our *selves* than suffer violence from others. The applicatio-for Answering the *Quare*, I leave to your Majesty.

Newcastle, June 17. 1646.

For Master *Alexander Henderson.*

His MAJESTIES *third Paper.*

1. IT were arrogance, besides losse of time, in Me to vie preambles with you: For, it is *Truth* I seek, and neither Praise nor Victhry, therefore I shall only insist upon those things which are meerly necessary to My own satisfaction; in order to which I desire the assistance of some Divines; whereupon I will insist no further, save only to wish, that you may not (as I have known many men do) lose time, by being mista-ken in the way to save it, wherein I have only sought to disburden My self, but to lay no blame upon you; and so I leave it.

2. Nor will I say more of the second than this, that I am glad you have so well approved of what I have said concerning My Education and reason; but then remember, that *another mans will*, is at least, as weak a ground, to build My faith upon, as My former edu-cation.

3. In this their are two points; First, concerning the *Reforming power*, then anent the *English Refor-mation*: For the first, I confesse you now speak clearly, which

which before you did but darkly mention, wherein I shall mainly differ with you, untill you shall shew Me better reason: yet thus far I will go along with you, that when a Generall Councell cannot be had, several *Kingdoms* may *Reform* themselves (which is learnedly and fully proved be the late *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbu-ry* in his disputation against *Fisher*) but, that the *in-feriour Mrgistrates or People* (take it which way you will) have this power, I utterly deny: For which, by your favour, you have made no sufficient proof, to my judgment: Indeed, if you could have brought or can bring authority of Scripture, for this opinion, I would and will, yet, with all reverence submit; but as for your Examples, *out of the Old Testament*, in My mind, they rather make for, than against Me, all those *Reformations* being made by *Kings*; and it is a good *probable* (though I will not say *convincing*) *Argument*, that if God would have approved of a *popular reforming way*, there were Kings of *Iudah* and *Israell* sufficiently negligent and ill to have made such examples by; but by the contrary; the 16. Chapter of *Numbers* shews clearly, how God disap-proves of such courses: But I forget this assertion is to be proved by you; yet I may put you in the way, wherefore let Me tell you, that this pretended *power* in the *people* must (as all others) either be directly, or els declaratorily by approbation, given by God; which, how soon you can do, I submit; otherwise you prove nothing: for the citing of private mens o-pinions) more than as they concurre with the Gene-rall *consent of the Church* in their time) weighs little with Me, it being too well known, that *Rebels never wanted writers to maintaine their unjust actions*; and though I much reverence Bishop *Iewels* memory, I never thought him unfallible; for *Bilson* I remember well what opinion the *King* my *Father* had of him for

those

those Opinions, and how He shewed Him some favour in hope of his *Recantation*, (as His good nature made Him do many things of that Kinde) but whether he did, or not, I cannot say: To conclude this point, untill you shall prove this *position* by the Word of *God*, (as I will *Regall Authority*) I shall think all *popular Reformation*, little better than *Rebellions*; for, I hold that *no authority is lawfull but that which is either directly given*, or at least, *approved by God*. Secondly, Concerning the *English Reformation*, the first reason you bring why Queen *Elizabeth* did not finish it, is, because *she took not away Episcopacy*, the *hints of reason against which Government*, you say, *I take no notice of*; now I thought it was sufficient notice, yea and answer too, when I told you, *a negative* (as I conceived) *could not be proved*, and that it was for Me to prove the *affirmative*; which I shall either do, or yeeld the Argument, as soon as I shall be assisted with *Books*, or such Men of My opinion, who, like you, have a Library in their brain: And so I must leave this particular untill I be furnished with means to put it to an *issue*; which had been sooner done, if I could have had my will: indeed your second well proved, is most sufficient, which is, That *the English Church-Government is not builded upon the foundation of Christ and the Apostles*; but I conceive your probation of this, doubly defective; for first, albeit our Archbishops and Bishops should have professed *Church-Government* to be *mutable and ambulatory*, I conceive it not sufficient to prove your Assertion: and secondly, I am confident you cannot prove, that most of them maintained this *walking* position, (for some particulars must not conclude the generall) for which you must finde much better Arguments, than their being content with the *Constitution of the Church* and the *Authority* and *munificence* of Princes, or you will

will fall extreamly short: As for the *retaining* of the *Roman Leaven*, you must prove it, as well as say it, else you say little: But that the conforming of the *Church discipline* to the *civil policy*, should be a depraving of it, I absolutely deny; for I averre, that without it, the Church can neither flourish, nor be happy: And for your last instance, you shall doe well to shew the prohibition of our Saviour against addition of more Officers in the Church than he named, and yet in one sense I do not conceive that the Church of *England* hath added any; for, an *Archbishop* is onely a distinction for *order* of *Government*, not a *new Officer*, and so of the rest: and of this kinde I believe there are divers now in *Scotland* which you will not condemn, as the *Moderators of Assemblies*, and others.

4. Where you finde a *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, in Scripture to be one and the same (which I deny to be alwayes so) it is in the *Apostles time*; now I think to prove the *Order* of *Bishops* succeeded that of the Apostles, and that the name was chiefly altered in reverence to those who were immediately chosen by our *Saviour*, (albeit in their time, they caused diverse to be called so, as *Barnabas* and others) so that, I believe, this Argument makes little for you: As for your proof of the Antiquity of *Presbyterian Government*, it is wel that the *Assembly of Divines at Westminster* can do more than *Eusebius* could, and I shall believe, when I see it: For, your former paper affirms, that those times were very dark for matter of fact, and will be so still for Me, if there be no clearer Arguments to prove it, than those you mention: for because there were *divers Congregations* in *Ierusalem*; Ergo, *what*? are there not *divers Parishes in one Diocesse*? (your two first I answer but as one Argument) and because the *Apostles met with those of the inferiour*

Order

Orders for Acts of Government; what then? even so in these times do the *Deans* and *Chapters*, and many times those of the *inferiour Clergy* assist the *Bishops*: but I hope you will not pretend to say, that there was an equality between the *Apostles* and other *Presbyters*, which not being, doth (in My judgement) quite invalidate these Arguments: And if you can say no more for the Churches of *Corinth*, *Ephesus*, *Thessalonica*, *&c.* than you have for *Ierusalem*, it will gain no ground on Me: As for Saint *Ierome*, it is well known that he was no great friend to *Bishops*, as being none himself, yet take him altogether, and you will find that he makes a clear distinction between a *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, as your self confesses; but the truth is, he was angry with those who maintained *Deacons* to be equal to *Presbyters*.

5. I am well satisfied with the explanation of your meaning concerning the word *Fallacy*, though I think to have had reason for saying what I did: but by your favour, I do not conceive that you have answered the strength of my Argument, for when you say I differ upon the *interpretation of Scripture*, and I appeal to the *practise* of the *Primitive Church*, and the *universal consent of the Fathers*, to be judge between us, Me thinks you shald either finde a fitter, or submit to what I offer; neither of which (to My understanding) you have yet done; nor have you shown how, waving those Judges I appeal unto, the mischief of the interpretation by *private spirits*, can be prevented. Indeed, if I cannot prove by *Antiquity*, that *Ordination* and *Iurisdiction* belongs to *Bishops*, (thereby clerrly distinguishing them from other *Presbyters*) I shall then begin to misdoubt many of My former *foundations*; (as for Bishop *Davenant*, he is none of those, to whom I have appealed, or will submit unto) but for the exception you take to *Fathers*, I take it to

to be *a begging of the Question*; as likewise those great discoveries of secrets, not known to former Ages, I shall call *new-invented fancies*, until particularly you shall prove the contrary; and for your *Roman Authors*, it is no great wonder for them to seek shifts whereby to maintain *Novelties*, as wel as the *Puritans*. As for *Church-ambition*, it doth not at all terminate in seeking to be *Pope*; for I take it to be no point of humility to endeavour to be *independent of Kings*, it being possible, that *Papacy* in a *multitude* may be as dangerous as in *one*.

6. As I am no *Iudge* over the *Reformed Churches*, so neither do I censure them, for many things may be avowable upon *necessity*, which otherwayes are *unlawfull*; but know, once for all, that I esteem nothing the better, because it is done by such a *particular Church* (though it were by the *Church of England*, which I avow most to reverence) but I esteem that *Church* most, which comes nearest to the *purity of the primitive Doctrine and Discipline*, as I believe this doth. Now concerning Ordination, I bad you prove that Presbyters without a Bishop might lawfully Ordain, which yet I conceive you have not done; for, 2 *Tim.* 1.6. it is evident, that Saint *Paul* was at *Timothies* Ordination; and albeit that all the *Seventy* had their power immediately from *Christ*, yet it is as evident that our Saviour made a clear distinction between the *twelve Apostles* and the rest of the *Disciples*, which is set down by three of the *Evangelists*, whereof S. *Mark* cals it an Ordination, *Mark* 3. 15. and S. *Luke* says, *And of them he chose twelve, &c. Luke* 6. 13. onely S. *Matthew* doth but barely enumerate them by their *name* of distinction, *Matth.* 10.1. I suppose out of modesty, himself being one, and the other two being none, are more prrticular. For the *administration of Baptisme*, giving, but not granting what you say, it makes

makes more for Me, than you: but I wil not engage upon new Questions, not necessary for my purpose.

7. For my *Oath*, you do well not to enter upon those Questions you mention; and you have done as well to have omitted your instance: but; out of discretion I desire you to Collect your Answer out of the last Section; and for your Argument, though the intention of my Oath be for the good of the *Church Colective*, therefore can I be dispenced withall by others then the *representative body*? certainly no more then the people can dispence with Me for them *Oath* I took in their favour; without the two Houses of Parliament; and as for future Reformations, I wilonly tell you that *Incommodum non solvit Argumentum*.

8. For the *King* My Fathers opinion, if it were not to spend time (as I believe) needlesly, I could prove by living and written testimony, all and more, than I have said, for his perswasions in these points which now maintaine; and for your *Defensive War*; as I do acknowledge it is a great sinne, for a King to oppresse the Church, so I hold it absolutely unlawfull for *Subjects* (upon any pretence whatsoever) to make War (though *defensive*) against their *lawful Soveraign* against which no lesse proofs will make Me yeeld but *Gods Word*; and let Me tell you, that upon such points as these, Instances, as well as comparisons, are odious.

9. Lastly, you mistake the *Quære* in My first Paper to which this pretends to answer; for My Question was not concerning *force of Arguments* (for I never doubted the lawfulnesse of it) but *force of Arms*, which, I conceive, it says little or nothing, unless (after My example) you referre me to the former Section; that which it doth, is meerly the *asking of the Question*, after a fine discourse of the severall ways of *perswading* rather than *forcing* of Conscience: I chose

up this paper, desiring you to take notice, that there is none of these Sections but I could have enlarged to many more lines, some to whole pages; yet I chose to be thus brief, knowing you will understand more by a word than others by long discourse; trusting likewise to your ingenuity, that reason epitomized, will weigh as much with you as if it were at large.

June 22. 1646. *C. R.*

For His MAJESTY.

Concerning the Authority of the Fathers, and practice of the Church, *July* 2. 1646.

Mr. *Alex. Hendersons* third Paper.

HAving in my former papers pressed the steps of your Majesties Propositions, and finding by your Majesties last Paper, controversies to be multiplied, (I believe) beyond your Majesties intentions in the beginning; As concerning the *Reforming power*; The *Reformation of the Church of England*, The *difference between a Bishop and a Presbyter*; The *Warrants of presbyterian government*; The *Authority of Interpreting Scripture*; The *taking and keeping of publick Oathes*; The *forcing of Conscience*; and many other inferiour & subordinate questions, which are branches of those Maine Controversies: All which in a satisfactory manner to determine in few words, I leave to more presuming Spirits, who either see no knots of difficulties or, can find a way rather to cut them asunder, than to unlose them: yet will I not use any Tergiversation; nor doe I decline to offer my humble Opinion with the Reasons thereof in the own time concerning each of them; which in obedience to

to your Majeſties command, I have begun to doe already. Only Sir, by your Majeſties favourable permiſſion, for the greater expedition, and that the preſent velitations may be brought to ſome iſſue, I am bold to intreat that the Method may be a little altered, and I may have leave now to begin at a principle, and that which ſhould have been, *inter præcognita*, I mean the Rule, by which we are to proceed, and to determine the preſent controverſie of *Church policy*; without which we will be lead into a Labyrinth, and want a thred to wind us out again. In your Majeſties firſt paper, the *universal custome of the Primitive Church*, is conceived to be the Rule. In the ſecond paper, Section the 5. The *Practiſe of the Primitive Church, and the universall consent of the Fathers*, is made a convincing Argument, when the *Interpretation of Scripture* is doubtfull; in your third paper, *Sect.* 5. *The practice of the Primitive Church, and the universall consent of the Fathers*, is made Iudge; and I know that nothing is more ordinary in this Queſtion, than to allege *Antiquity, perpetuall Succeſsion, universall consent of the fathers*, and the *universall practice of the Primitive Church*, according to the Rule of *Auguſtine, Quod universa tenet Eccleſia, nec a concilio inſtitutum, ſed ſemper retentum eſt, non, niſi Authoritate Apoſtolica, traditum rectiſsime creditur.* There is in this Argument at the firſt view, ſo much appearance of reaſon that it may much work upon a modeſt mind: yet being well examined and rightly weighed it will be found to be of no great weight; for beſides that the Minor wil never be made good in the behalf of a *Diocesan Biſhop*, having ſole power of Ordination and juriſdiction, there being a multitude of Fathers, who maintaine that *Biſhop and Presbyter are of one and the same order*; I ſhall humbly offer ſome few Conſiderations about the Major, becauſe it hath been an inlet to many

ny dangerous Errours, and hath proved a mighty hinderance and obſtruction to Reformation of Religion.

1. Firſt, I deſire it may be conſidered, that whiles ſome make two rules for defining controverſies, the Word of God and Antiquity, (which they will have to be received with equall veneration) or, as the Papiſts call them, *Canonicall Authority, and Catholicall tradition*; and others, make *Scripture* to be the only *Rule*, and *Antiquity* the authentick *Interpreter*, the latter of the two ſeems to me to be the greater errour: becauſe the firſt letteth up a parallel, in the ſame degree with Scripture; but this would create a Superior, in a higher degree above Scripture: For the *Interpretation* of the Fathers ſhall be the Rule and accounted the very Cauſe and Reaſon for which we conceive and believe ſuch a place of Scripture to have ſuch a ſence; and thus, Men ſhall have Dominion over our Faith, againſt 2. *Cor.* 1. 24. Our Faith ſhall ſtand in the wiſdom of man, and not in the power of God, 1 *Cor.* 2. 5. and Scripture ſhall be of private interpretation; For the propheſie came not of old by the wil of man, 2 *Pet.* 1. 20. 22. *Niſi homini Deus placuerit, Deus non erit, Homo jam Deo propitius eſſe debebit*, ſaith *Tertullian.*

2. That the Scripture cannot be authentically interpreted but by Scripture, is manifeſt from Scripture: The Levites gave the ſenſe of the Law by no other means, but by Scripture it ſelf, *Neh.* 8. 1. Our Saviour for example to us, gave the true ſenſe of Scripture, againſt the depravations of Satan, by comparing Scripture with Scripture, and not by alleaging any Teſtimonies out of the Rabbins, *Mat.* 4. and the Apoſtles, in their Epiſtles, uſed no other help but the diligent comparing of Prophetical writings; like as the Apoſtle *Peter*, will have us to compare the clearer light of the Apoſtles

Apoſtles, with the more obſcure light of the Prophets, 2 *Pet.* 1. 19. And when we betake our ſelves to the Fathers, we have need to take heed, that, with the Papiſts, we accuſe not the Scriptures of obſcurity or imperfection.

3. The Fathers themſelves (as they are cited by Proteſtant Writers) hold this Concluſion, that Scripture is not to be interpreted, but by Scripture it ſelf. To this purpoſe amongſt many other Teſtimonies, they bring the ſaying of *Tertullian*, *Surge veritas; ipſas Scripturas tuas interpretare, quam conſuetudo non novit, nam ſi noſcet, non eſſet*: if it knew Scripture, it would be aſhamed of it ſelfe, and ceaſe to be any more.

4. That ſome errors have been received, and continued for a long time, in the Church: The Error of *Free-will* beginning at *Iuſtin Martyr*, continued to the time of *Reformation*, although it was rejected by *Auguſtine*, as the *Divine right of Epiſcopacy*, was oppoſed by others. The Error about the *Viſion of God*. That the *Souls of the ſaints departed, ſee not the face of God, Till the Iudgement of the great day*, was held by Univerſall conſent: The ſame may be ſaid of the Error of the Millenaries; and, which more nearly toucheth upon the preſent Queſtion, the Ancients erred groſly about the *Antichriſt* and *Myſtery of iniquity*, which did begin to work in the dayes of the Apoſtles. Many other inſtances might be brought to prove the *univerſal practice of the Church*, as were not warranted by the Apoſtles, as by the Rites of *Baptiſme* and *Prayer*; and the forming up and drawing together of the Articles of that Creed, that is called *Symbolum Apoſtolicum*; the obſervation of many *Feaſts* and *Faſts* both Anniverſary and Weekly.

5. That it is not a matter ſo incredible, or impoſſible, as ſome would have it appear to be, for the primitive Church to have made a ſudden defection from the Apoſtolicall purity: the people of Iſrael in the ſhort time of *Moſes* his abſence on the Mount, turned aſide quickly, and fell into horrible Idolatry, *Exod* 32. ſoon after the death of *Ioſuah*, and the Elders that had ſeen the great works which the Lord had done for *Iſraell*, there aroſe another generation after them, which did evil in the ſight of the Lord, *Iudg.* 2. & 7. ſoon after the building of the Temple, and ſerling of Religion by *David* and *Solomon*, the worſhip of God was defiled with Idolatry: when *Rehoboam* had eſtabliſhed the Kingdom he forſook the Law of the Lord, & all Iſrael with him, 2 *Chron.* 12. 2. And the Apoſtle ſays to the Gallatians, *Gallat.* 1. 6. *I marvel that you are ſo ſoon removed unto another Goſpel*: Why then ſhall we think it ſtrange, that in the manner of Diſcipline, there ſhould be a ſudden defection, eſpecially it being begun in the time of the Apoſtles? I know it is a common opinion, but I believe there be no ſtrong reaſons for it, that the Church which was neareſt the times of the Apoſtles was the moſt pure and perfect Church.

6. That it is impoſſible to come to the knowledge of the univerſall conſent and practice of the Primitive Church: for many of the fathers wrote nothing at all, many of their writings are periſhed, (it may be that both of theſe have diſſented from the reſt) many of the writings which we have under their names are Suppoſitions, and counterfeit, eſpecially about Epiſcopacy which was the foundation of Papall Primacy: The Rule of *Auguſtine* fore-mentioned doth too much favour Traditions, and is not to be admitted, without cautions and exceptions.

Many the like conſiderations may be added; but theſe may be ſufficient to prove that the unanimous conſent of the Fathers, and the univerſal practice of the

the Primitive Church, is no sure ground of Authenticall interpretation of Scripture. I remember of a Grave Divine in *Scotland*, much honoured by King *James* of happy memory, who often did professe that he did learne more of one page of *Iohn Calvin*, than of a whole Treatise of *Augustine*: Nor can there be any good reason, (many there be against it) why the Ancients should be so farre preferred to the Modern Doctors of the Reformed Churches, and the one in a manner deified, and the other vilified: it is but a poore Reason that some give, *Fama maturatrix seniorum avi*, and is abundantly answered by the Apologist for Divine Providence. If your Majesty be still unsatisfied concerning the Rule, I know not to what purpose I should proceed to trouble your Majesty any more.

Newcastle, July 2. 1646.

For Mr. *Alex. Henderson.*

His MAJESTIES *fourth Paper.*
July 3. 1646.

I Shall very willingly follow the *method* you have begun in your third Paper; but I do not conceive, that My last Paper multiplies more controversies than My first gave occasion for, having been so farre from Augmenting the heads of our disputation, that I have omitted the answering many things, in both your Papers, expresly to avoid raising of new and needlesse questions; desiring to have only so many debated, as are simply necessary to shew, whether or not, *I may with a safe conscience give way to the alteration of Church-Government in england*; and indeed I like very

well, to begin with the *setling of the Rule* by which we are to proceed, and determine the present Controversy; to which purpose (as I conceive) My third Paper shews you an excellent way; for there I offer you a Iudge between us, or desire you to *find out a better*, which to My judgment you have not yet done, (though you have sought to invalidate Mine) For, if you understand to have offered the *Scripture*, though no man shall pay more reverence, nor submit more humbly to it than My self; yet you must find some rule to judge betwixt us, when you and I differ upon the *interpretation* of the self-same Text, or it can never determine our Questions; as for example, I say you misapply that of 2 *Cor.* 1. 14. to *Me*, (let others answer for themselves) for I know not how I make *other Men to have dominion over my Faith*, when I make them only serve to *approve My Reason*; nor do I conceive how, 1 *Cor.* 2. 5. can be applyed to this purpose; For there St. *Paul* only shews the difference between *Divine* and *Humane Eloquence*, making no mention, of any kind of interpretation throughout the whole Chapter, as indeed Saint *Peter* does, 2. *Pet.* 1. 20. which I conceive makes for *Me*; for, since that no *propheſie of Scripture is of any private interpretation*: First, I infer that Scripture is to be Interpreted; for els, the Apostle would have omitted the word *Private*: Secondly, that at least the consent of many learned Divines is necessary, and so *a fortiore*, that of the *Catholick Church* ought to be an *authentick Judge*, when Men differ: And it is a good Argument? because (*Mat.* 4. 4. 7. 10.) Scripture is best interpreted by it selfe, therefore that all other interpretations are unlawfully? certainful you cannot think: Thus having shewed you that we differ, about the meaning of the Scripture, and are like to doe so; certainely there ought to be for this, as well as other thing

things, a *Rule* or a *Iudge* between us, to determine our differences, or, at leaſt, to make our Probations and Arguments Relevant; therefore evading, for this time, to anſwer your ſix conſiderations (not I aſſure you for the difficulty of them, but the ſtarting of new Queſtions) I deſire you only to ſhew Me a better than what I have offered to you.

Newcaſtle, Iuly 3. 1646. C. R.

For Mr. Alexander Henderſon.

A particular Anſwer to Mr *Alex. Henderſons*, Iuly 3. 16. 1646.

His MAIESTIES *fifth Paper.*

VNtill you ſhall find out a fitter way to decide our *Difference* in Opinion concerning *Interpretation of Scripture* than the *conſent of the Fathers, and the Univerſal practice of the Primitive Church*, I cannot but paſſe you My judgment anent thoſe ſix *conſiderations*, which you offered to invalidate thoſe Authorities, that I ſo much reverence.

1. In the firſt you mention *two rules for defining of controverſies*, and ſeek a moſt old way to confute them, as I think; For you alleage, that *there is more attributed to them*, than I believe you can prove, by the conſent of moſt learned Men (there being no Queſtion, but there are alwayes ſome flattering Fools that can commend nothing but with hyperbolick expreſſions) and you know that *ſupoſito quolibet, ſequitur quidlibet*: beſides do you think, that albeit ſome ignorant Fellowes, ſhould attribute more power to Presbyters, than is really due unto them, that thereby their juſt reverence and authority is diminiſhed? So

So I ſee no reaſon why I may not ſafely maintain that the *Interpretations of Fathers*, is a moſt excellent ſtrengthening to My opinion though others ſhould attribute the Cauſe and Reaſon of their Faith unto it.

2. As there is no Queſtion, but that *Scripture* is the far *beſt Interpreter* of it ſelfe, ſo I ſee nothing in this, negatively proved, to exclude any other, notwithſtanding your poſitive affirmation.

3. Nor in the next, for I hope you will not be the firſt to condemn your ſelf, Me and innumerable others, who yet unblamable have not tyed themſelves to this Rule.

4. If in this you only intend to prove that Errors were alwayes *breeding in the Church* I ſhall not deny it, yet that makes little (as I conceive) to your purpoſe; but if your meaning be, to accuſe the *univerſall practice of the Church* with *Error*, I muſt ſay it is a very bold undertaking; and (if you cannot juſtifie your ſelf, by clear places in Scripture) much to be blamed, wherein you muſt not allege, that to be univerſally received, which was not as I dare ſay, that the *Controverſy about free will*, was never yet decided, by *Oecumoniall*, or *Generall Councel*; nor muſt you preſume to call that an Error, which really the Catholick Church maintained (as in rights of Baptiſme forms of Prayer, obſervations Feaſts, Faſts, &c.) except you can prove it ſo by the Word of God, and it is not enough to ſay, that ſuch a thing was not warranted by the Apoſtles, but you muſt prove by their Doctrine, that ſuch a thing was unlawfull, or elſe the practice of the Church is warrant enough for Me to follow and obey that Cuſtome whatſoever it be, and think it good, and ſhall believe that the Apoſtles Creed was made by them, (ſuch reverence I bear to the Churche Tradition) untill other Authors be certainely found out.

5. I

I was taught that *de posse ad esse* was a good argument; and indeed to Me it is incredible, that any *custom of the Catholick Church* was erroneous, which was not contradicted by *Orthodox*, learned men, in the times of their first practice, as is easily perceived that those *Defections* were, (some of them may be justly called *Rebellions*) which you mention.

6. I deny it is *impossible* (though I confesse it *difficult*) to come to the knowledge of *the Vniversal consent*, and practice of the *Primitive Church*, therefore I confesse a man ought to be carefull how to believe things of this nature; wherefore I conceive this to be only an Argument for Caution.

My conclusion is, that albeit I never esteemed any *Authority* equall to the *Scriptures*; , yet I do think the unanimous consent of the *Fathers* and the *universall practice of the Primitive Church to be the best and Authenticall interpreters of Gods Word*, and consequently the fittest Iudges between Me and you, where we differ, untill you shall find Me better: For example, I think you for the present the best Preacher in *Newcastle*, yet I believe you may erre, and possibly a better Preacher may come, but till then I must retain My Opinion.

Newcastle, July 16 1646. *C. R.*

The

The Papers which passed between his Majesty and the Ministers attending the Commissioners of Parliament at the Treaty at Newport *in the Isle of* Wight, Anno Dom. 1648. *concerning Episcopacy.*

His MAJESTIES *first Paper concerning Episcopacy.*

Charls R.

I Conceive that Episcopal Government is most consonant to the word of God, and of an Apostolicall institution, as it appears by the Scripture, to have been practised by the Apostles themselves, and by them committed, and derived, to particular persons as their Substitutes or Successors therein (as for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, giving rules concerning Christian Discipline, and exercising censures over Presbyters and others) and hath ever since to these last times been exercised by Bishops in all the Churches of Christ, and therefore I cannot in conscience consent to abolish the said Government; notwithstanding this my perswasion I shall be glad to be informed, if our Saviour and the Apostles did so leave the Church at liberty as they might totally alter or change the Church-government at their pleasure: which if you can make appear to Me, then I will confesse that one of My great scruples is clean taken away: And then there only remains;

That being by My Coronation Oath obliged to maintaine Episcopal government, as I found it setled to

Acts 14. 23. *Acts.* 6. 6. 1 *Cor.* 16. 1. 1 *Cor.* 14. 1 *Cor.* 5. 5. 3 *Joh.* 9. 10. 1 *Tim.* 5. 22 *Titus* 1. 5. *Rev.* 2. 3. 1 *Tim.* 5. 19. *Tit.* 3. 10.

to My hands: whether I may conſent to the aboliſhing thereof untill the ſame be evidenced to Me to be contrary to the word of God.

Newport, 2 *Octob.* 1648.

An humble Anſwer returned to your Majeſties Paper, delivered to us, October 2. 1648.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

WE do fully agree without hæſitation, That theſe Scriptures cited in the Margent of your Paper, *Acts* 14.23. *Acts* 6.6. 1 *Cor.*16.1. 1 *Cor.* 14. 1 *Cor.*5.3. 3 *John* 9.10. do prove, That the Apoſtles did ordain Presbyters and Deacons, give Rules concerning Chriſtian Diſcipline, and had Power of cenſures over Presbyters and others; and that theſe places of Scripture, 1 *Tim.* 5. 22. *Titus* 1.5. 1 *Tim.* 19. *Titus* 3.10. do prove that *Timothy* and *Titus* had power to ordain Presbyters and Deacons, and to exerciſe Cenſures over others; and that the ſecond and third Chapters of the *Revelations* do prove, that the Angels of the Churches had power of governing of the Churches, and exerciſing Cenſures: But that either the Apoſtles, or *Timothy* and *Titus*, or the Angels of the Churches were Biſhops, as Biſhops are diſtinct from Presbyters, exerciſing Epiſcopall Government in that ſenſe, or that the Apoſtles did commit and derive to any particular perſons as their ſubſtitutes and Succeſſors, any ſuch Epiſcopal Government, or that this is proved in the leaſt meaſure by the Scriptures alleged, we do as fully deny: And therefore do humbly deny alſo, That Epiſcopall Government is therefore moſt conſonant to the Word of God, and of Apoſtles inſtitution, or proved ſo to be by theſe Scriptures. None of theſe were Biſhops, or practiſed Epiſcopall

Epiſcopall Government; as Biſhops are diſtinct from Presbytery; neither is ſuch an Officer of the Church as a Biſhop diſtinct from a Presbyter, to be found in the New Teſtament (by which we humbly conceive,) That our faith and conſcience touching this point ought to be concluded: The Name, Office, and Work of Biſhop and Presbyter being one and the ſame in all things, and never in the leaſt diſtinguiſht, and is clearly evident, *Titus* 1.5.7. *For this cauſe left I thee in* Creet, *that thou ſhouldeſt ſet in order the things that are wanting, & ordain Presbyters in every City, as I had appointed thee, for a Biſhop muſt be blameleſſe.* In which place the Apoſtles reaſoning were altogether invalid and inconſequent, if Presbyter and Biſhop were not the ſame Office, as well as they have the ſame name.

The ſame is manifeſt, *Acts* 20. 17, 28. And from *Miletus* he ſent to *Epheſus*, and called the Presbyters of the Church, to whom he gave this charge *verſe* 28. *Take heed therefore unto your ſelves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghoſt hath made you Biſhops, to feed and govern the Church of God.* Where we obſerve, That the Apoſtle being to leave theſe Presbyters, and never to ſee their faces more, *verſe* 38. doth charge them with the feeding and governing of the Church, as being Biſhops of the Holy Ghoſts making: But that the Holy Ghoſt did make any ſuperiour or higher kinde of Biſhops than theſe common Presbyters, is not to be found in that, or any other Text.

And that under the mouth of 2 or 3 witneſſes this aſſertion of ours may ſtand; we adde to what we have already ſaid, That in the firſt of *Peter* 5. 1. 2. *The Presbyters which are among you, I exhort, who am, alſo a Presbyter, feed the flock of God which is among you performing the Office of Biſhops.* Where it appeares plain to us, That under the words uſed in this place, is

is expreſt whatſoever work the Presbyters do, more for the government & good of the Church, otherwiſe than is there expreſly enjoyned unto Presbyters. By all which that hath been ſaid, The point is rendred moſt clear to the judgment of moſt men, both ancient and of latter times, That there is no ſuch Officer to be found in the Scriptures of the new Teſtament, as a Biſhop diſtinct from a Presbyter: Neither doth the Scripture afford us the leaſt notice of any qualification required in a Biſhop, that is not required in a Presbyter; nor any Ordination in the Office of a Biſhop diſtinct from a Presbyter; nor any work or duty charged upon a Biſhop, which Presbyters are not enjoyned to doe; nor any greater honour or dignity put upon them. For that double honour which the Apoſtles ſpeake of, 2 *Tim.* 5. 17. *As due to Presbyters that rule well*, is with a note of eſpecially affixed to that Act or Work of labouring in the Word & Doctrine, which is not that act wherein Biſhops have challenged a ſingularity or peculiar eminency above the Presbyters.

To that which your Majeſty doth conceive, That Epiſcopall Government was practiſed by Apoſtles themſelves; We humbly anſwer, that the Apoſtles as they were the higheſt Officers of the Church of Chriſt, ſo they were Extraordinary in reſpect of their Commiſſion and gifts, and office, and diſtinguiſhed from all other Officers, 1 *Cor.* 12. 28. God hath ſet ſome in the Church, *First Apoſtles, Secondly Prophets, Thirdly Teachers*, Epheſians 4. 11. *Chriſt gave ſome Apoſtles, and ſome Prophets, and ſome Evangeliſts, and ſome Paſtors, and ſome Teachers*; Whereby the Apoſtles are diſtinguiſht from Paſtors, and Teachers, who are the ordinary Officers of the Church for preaching the Word, and Government: that they had power and authority to ordain Church-Officers, and to exercise

erciſe cenſures in all Churches we affirm, and withall, that no other perſons or Officers of the Church may challenge or aſſume to themſelves ſuch power in that reſpect alone, becauſe the Apoſtles practiſed it, except ſuch power belong unto them in common, as well as to the Apoſtles, by warrant of the Scripture, for that Government which they practiſed was Apoſtolicall according to that peculiar Commiſſion and authority which they had, and no otherwiſe to be called Epiſcopall, then, as their office was ſo comprehenſive as they had power to doe the work of any or all other Church Officers; In which reſpect they call themſelves *Presbyteri*, *Diaconi*, (but never *Epiſcopi* in diſtinct ſenſe) and therefore we humbly crave leave to ſay, that to argue the Apoſtles to have practiſed Epiſcopall Government, becauſe they ordained othet Officers, and exerciſed cenſures, is, as if we ſhould argue a Iuſtice of peace to be a Conſtable, becauſe he doth that which a Conſtable doth in ſome particulars. Its manifeſt that the Office of Biſhops and Presbyters were not diſtinct in the Apoſtles, they did not act as Biſhops in ſome acts, and as Presbyters in other acts; The diſtinction of Preſbyters and Biſhops being made by men in after times.

And whereas your Majeſty doth conceive, That the Epiſcopall Government, was by the Apoſtles committed and delivered to particular perſons, as their Subſtitutes or their Suceeſſors therein (as for ordaining Presbytersand Deacons, giving rules concerning Chriſtian Diſcipline, and exerciſing cenſures over Presbyters and others) ſeeming by the alleged places of Scripture to inſtance in *Timothy* and *Titus* and the Angels of the Churches, We humbly anſwer,

1. And firſt to that of *Timothy* and *Titus*, we grant, That,

That *Timothy* and *Titus* had authority and power of ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, and of exercising censures over Presbyters and others, though we cannot say they had this power, as the Apostles Substitutes or Successors in Episcopall Government, not that they exercised the power they had, as being Bishops in the sense of your Majesty, but as extraordinary Officers or Evangelists, which Evangelists were an Office in the Churth, distinct from Pastors and Teachers *Ephesians* 4. 11. And that they were Evangelists it appears by their being sent up and down by the Apostles, or taken along with them in company to severall Churches, as the necessity and occasion of the Church did require; the one of them being expresly called an Evangelist 2. *Tim.* 4. 5. And neither of them being any where in Scriptures called Bishop, neither were they fixed to *Ephesus* and *Creet*, as Bishops of the Churches committed to them, but removed from thence to other places, and never, for ought appears in Scriptures, returned to them again: And it seems clear to us, that neither their abode at *Ephesus* and *Creet* was for any long time, nor so intended by the Apostle, for he imploys them ther upon occasional businesse, and expresseth Himselfe in such manner, as *I besought thee to abide still at* Ephesus, *when I went into* Macedonia, *that thou mightest charge some, that they teach no other Doctrine*, 1. *Tim.* 13. *For this cause left I thee in* Creet, *Titus* 1. 5. as doth carry the fixing or constituting of a Bishop in a place as a perpetual Governour: And it is as manifest, that they were both of them called away from these places, 2 *Tim.* 4. 9. *Do thy diligence to come to me shortly*, *Titus* 3. 12. *Be diligent to come to me to* Nicopolis; so that they may as well be called Bishops of other City, or Church where they had any considerable abode, as they are pretended to have been of *Ephesus* and *Creet*, as they are called by the

the postscripts of these Apostles, the credit of which postscripts we cannot build upon in this point.

2. Secondly, to that of the Angels of the Churches, the Ministers of the Churches are called Stars and Angels, which denominations are Metaphoricall and a Mystery, *Rev.* 1. 20. The Mystery of the seven Stars; Angels in respect of their mission or sending; Stars in respect of their station and shining. And it seems strange to us, that so many expresse testimonies of Scriptures, and allegoricall denominations or mysteries should be opposed; These Angels being no where called Bishops in vulgar acceptation, nor the word Bishop used in any of *Iohns* writings, who calls himself Presbyter, nor any mention of superiority of one Presbyter to another, but in *Diotrephes* affecting it. And as to that which may be said that Epistles are directed to one; We answer, that a number of persons are in the mysterious and prophetick writings expresst in singulars. And wee humbly conceive, that being written in an Epistolary stile (for they are as Letters or Epistles to the Churches) these writings are directed as Letters to collective or representative bodies use to be, that is to one, but are intended and meant to the body in meeting assembled: which that they were so intended, is clear to us, both because there were in *Ephesus* Bishops, and Presbyters one and the same, to whom the Apostle at his farewell commended the Government of the Church, and by divers expressions in these Epistles, as *Rev.* 2. 24. *To you & to the rest in Thyatira*, by which distinction of you and the rest, we conceive the Church-governments (which were more than one) and the people to be signified, and so cannot consent that any singular person had majority over the rest, or sole power of exercising Church censures and Government spoken of in these Chapters.

Having

Having thus (as we humbly conceive) proved by pregnant places of Scripture compared together, that the Apoſtles themſelves did not inſtitute or practiſe Epiſcopall Government, nor commit and derive it to particular perſons as their Subſtitutes or Succeſſors therein. We ſhall in further diſcharge of our duty to, and for, the more clear and full ſatisfaction of your Majeſty in this point, briefly declare into what Officers hands, the ordinary and ſtanding Offices of the Church were tranſmitted and derived by, and from the Apoſtles. The Apoſtles had no Succeſſors in *eundem gradum*: The Apoſtolicall office was not derived by ſucceſſion, being inſtituted by Chriſt, by extraordinary and ſpeciall commiſſion; but for the ordinary and ſtanding uſe and ſervice of the Church, there were ordained onely two Orders of Offices, viz. Biſhops and Deacons, which the Apoſtle expreſſeth, *Phil.* 1. 1. *To all the Saints in Chriſt Jeſus which are at Philippi, with the Biſhops and Deacons:* And onely of them doth the Apoſtle give the due characters of Officers: 1 *Tim.* 3. 1. 8. From both which places of Scripture we conclude with antient Expoſitors both Greek and Latine, that Biſhops are the ſame with Presbyters, & beſides Presbyters there is no mention of any other Order, but that of Deacons; of both which orders there were in the Apoſtles times, in one City more than one, as in *Philippi* and *Epheſus*. And we humbly offer to your Majeſty as obſervable; That though one Order might be ſuperiour to another Order, yet in the ſame Order of Officers, there was not any one ſuperiour to others of the ſame Order; No Apoſtle was above an Apoſtle, no Evangeliſt above an Evangeliſt, no Presbyter above a Presbyter, no Deacon above a Deacon: And ſo we conclude this part, that ſince Church-Officers are inſtituted and ſet in the Church by God, or Jeſus Chriſt; and that Ordination by or in which the office

is conveyed, it is of no other Officers but of Presbyters & Deacons; therefore there are no other Orders of ordinary and ſtanding Officers in the Churches of Chriſt.

As for the ages immediately ſucceeding the Apoſtles, we anſwer, 1. Our Faith reacheth no further than the holy Scriptures; no humane teſtimony can beget any more than a humane Faith.

2. We anſwer, that it is agreed upon by learned men, as well ſuch as contend for Epiſcopacy as others, that the times immediately ſucceeding the Apoſtles, are very dark in reſpect of the Hiſtorie of the Church

3. That the moſt unqueſtionable Record of thoſe times gives clear teſtimony to our aſſertion, *viz.* The Epiſtle of *Clement* to the *Corinthians* who reciting the order of Church Officers, expreſly limits them to two, Biſtops and Deacons; and they whom in one place he call'd Biſhops, he alwayes afterwards nameth Presbyters. The Epiſtles of *Ignatius* pretend indeed to the next antiquity, but are by ſome ſuſpected as wholly ſpurious, and proved by *Videlius* to be ſo mixed, that it is hard if not impoſſible, to know what parts of them are genuine. Beſides B. *Uſher* in his laſt obſervations on them, *c.* 18. *p.* 238. confeſſeth that of the 12 of his Epiſtles, ſix are counterfeit, the other ſix mixt, and none of them in every reſpect accounted ſincere and genuine.

4, We grant that not long after the Apoſtles times, Biſhops in ſome ſuperiority to Presbyters, are by the writers of thoſe times reported to be in the Church; but they were ſet up not as a divine Inſtitution, but as an Eccleſiaſtiticall, (as afterwards both Arch-biſhops and Patriarches were,) which is clear by Doctor *Reynolds* his Epiſtle to Sir *Francis Knowls*; wherein he ſhewes out of Biſhop *Iewel*, that *Ambroſe*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Ierome*, *Auguſtine*, and many more holy

ly Fathers, together with the Apostle *Paule*, agree that by the word of God there is no difference between a Presbyter and a Bishop: and that *Medina* in the Councell of *Trent* affirms not only the same Fathers, but also another *Ierome*, *Theodoret*, *Primasius*, *Sedulius*, and *Theophilact* to be of the same judgment: and that with them agreed *Oecumenius*, *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and another *Anselm*, *Gregory*, and *Gratian*, and after them many others; that it was enroll'd in the Canon Law for sound and Catholick Doctrine, and publickly taught by learned men, and adds, that all who have laboured in the reformation of the Church for these five hundred yeares, have taught that all Pastors, be they instituted Bishops or Priests, have equall Authority and power by Gods word. The same way goes *Lumbard* Master of the Sentences, and Father of the Schoolmen, who speaking of Presbyters and Deacons, saith, the Primitive Churches had those Orders only, and that we have the Apostles precept for them alone; with him agree many of the most eminent of that kind, and generally all the Canonists; to these we may adde *Sixtus Senensis*, who testifies for himself and many others, and *Cassander* who was called by one of the *German* Emperours, as one of singular ability and integrity, to inform him and resolve his conscience in questions of that nature, who sayes it is agreed among all in the Apostles times, there was no difference betwixt a Bishop and a Presbyter.

For a conclusion we adde, that the doctrine which we have herein propounded to your Majesty concerning the indentity of the order of Bishops and Presbyters, is no other than the doctrine published by King *Henry* the eighth, 1543. for all his Subjects to receive, seen and allowed by the Lords both Spirituall and Temporall, with the nether House of Parliament: of

of these two Orders onely (so saith his Book,) that is to say, Priests and Deacons, the Scripture maketh expresse mention, and how they were conferr'd of by the Apostles by prayer, and imposition of their hands: by all which it seems evident, that the order of Episcopacy, as distinct from Presbyters, is but an Ecclesiastical institution, and therefore not unalterable.

Lastly, we answer, that that Episcopall Government which at first obtained in the Church did really and substantially differ from Episcopal Government, which the Honourable Houses of Parliament desire the abolition of. The Bishop of these times was one presiding in, and joyning with the Presbytery of his Church ruling with them, and not without them, either created and made by the Presbyters chusing out one among themselves, as in *Rome* and *Alexandria*, or chosen by the Church, and confirmed by three or more of his Neighbours of like dignity within the same precinct. Lesser Towns and Villages had and might have had Bishops in them as well as populous and eminent Cities, untill the Councill of *Sardis* decreed, that Villages and small Cities should have no Bishops, lest the name and authority of a Bishop might thereby come into contempt; but of one claiming as his due and right to himself alone, as a superiour order or degree, all power about Ordination of Presbyters and Deacons, and all jurisdictions either to exercise himself, or delegate to whom he will of the Laity or Clergy, as they distinguish according to the judgement and practise of these in our times we reade not till the latter and corrupter ages of the Church.

By all which it appears that the present Hierarchy (the abolition whereof is desired by the Honourable Houses) may be accordingly abolish-

ed;) and yet possibly the Bishops of these Primitive times might be, they are so far differing one from another.

In answer to that part of your Majesties Paper wherein you enquire whether our Saviour and his Apostles did so leave the Church at liberty, as they might totally alter or change the Church Government at their pleasure, we humbly conceive that there are, substantials belonging to Church-Government, such are appointed by Christ and his Apostles, which are not in the Churches liberty to alter at pleasure: But as for Arch-Bishops, we hope it will appear unto your Majesties Conscience, that they are none of the Church governour appointed by our Saviour and his Apostles; we beseech your Majesty, rather to look to the original of them than succession.

His Majesties Answer to the Paper delivered to Him by the Ministers attending the Parliaments Commissioners.

Concerning Church-Government.

C. R.

HIs Majesty upon perusall of your Answer to His Paper of the second of *October* 1648. findeth that you acknowledge the severall Scriptures cited in the Margin, to prove the thing for which they are cited, *viz.* that the Apostles in their own persons, that *Timothy* and *Titus* by authority derived from them, and the Angels of the Churches had power of Church-Government, and did nor might actually exercise the same in all the three severall branches in His Paper specified; and so in effect you grant all that is desired. For the Bishops challenge no more or other power to

to belong unto them in respect of their Episcopall offices, as it is distinct from that of Presbyters, than what properly falleth under one of these three: Ordaining, giving Rules, and Censures.

But you presently after deny the persons that exercised the power aforesaid to have been Bishops, or had exercised episcopall Government in that sense as Bishops are distinct from Presbyters: wherein you do in effect deny the very same thing you had before granted: For Episcopall Government in that sense being nothing else but the government of the Churches within a certaine precinct (commonly called a Diocesse) committed to one single person, with sufficient authority over the Presbyters and the people of those Churches for that end, since the substance of the thing it self in al the three forementioned particulars is found in the Scriptures, unlesse you will strive about names and words (which tendeth not to profit, but to the puzzelling and subverting of those that seek after truth) you must also acknowledge that Episcopall government in the sence aforesaid may be sufficiently proved from Scripture.

In that which you say next, and for proof thereof insist upon three severall texts, *Titus* 1. 5. 7. *Acts* 20. 17. 18. 1 *Pet.* 5. 1. 2. his Majesty conceives (as to the present businesse) that the most that can be proved from all or any of those places, is this, that the word Bishop is there used to signifie a Presbyter, and that consequently the Office and work mentioned in those places as the office and work of a Bishop, are the Office and work of a Presbyter; which is confest on all sides, although his Majesty is not sure that the proof will reach so farre in each of those places. But from thence to infer an absolute Identity of the functions of a Bishop and a presbyter is a fallacy, which his Majesty observes to run in a manner

ner quite along your whole answer: but it appears from the Scriptures, by what you have granted that single persons, (as *Timothy* and *Titus* for example) had authority to perform such acts and Offices of Church-government, as his Majesty hath not yet found by any thing represented unto him by you or any other from the Scripture, that a single Presbyter ever had authority to perform; which is enough to prove that there may be community of names in some places notwithstanding the Functions themselves are in other places by their proper work sufficiently distinguished.

But for the name *Episcopus* or Bishop, his Majesty hath long since learned from those that are skilfull in the Greek tongue, that it imports properly no more than an Overseer, one that hath the charge or inspection of some thing committed unto him, as he that is set to watch a Beacon, or to keep Sheep; whence in the New Testament, and in the Ecclesiastical use, it is applyed to such persons as have the care and inspection of the Churches of Christ committed unto them in *Spiritualibus*; as both Bishops and Presbyters have in some sort, but with this difference, that meer Presbyters are *Episcopi gregis*, onely they have the oversight of the flock in the Duties of preaching, administration of Sacraments, publick prayer, Exhorting, Rebuking, &c. but Bishops are *Episcopi gregis & pastorum* within their severall precincts, in the acts of externall government; so that the common work of both Functions is the Ministery of the Gospell, but that which is peculiar to the Function of Bishops as distinquisht from Presbyters, is Church-government. It is not therefore to be wondred if it should happen in the New Testament, the word *Episcopus* to be usually applyed unto Presbyters who were indeed overseers of the flock, rather than unto Church-

Church-governours, who had then a title of greater Eminency whereby to distinguish them from ordinary Presbyters, to wit, that of Apostles. But when the government of Churches came into the hands of their Successours, the names were by common usage (which is the best master of words) very soon appropriated, that of *Episcopus* to the Ecclesiasticall Governour or Bishop of a Dioceese, and that of Presbyter to the ordinary Minister or Priest.

His Majesty hath rather cause to wonder, That upon such premises you should conclude with so much confidence, as if the point were rendred most clear to the judgment of most men both antient and of latter times, That there is no such Officer to be found in the Scriptures of the New Testament as a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter, when as his Majesty remembreth to have seen cited, by such Authors as he hath no reason to suspect, both out of the antient Fathers and Councels, and out of sundry modern Writers, even of these reformed Churches, that want Bishops, great variety of Testimonies to the contrary.

His Majesty is not satisfied with your Answer, concerning the Apostles exercise of Episcopall government, which you would put off, by referring it to their extraordinary calling: our Saviour himself was the first and chief Apostle, and Bishop of our Souls, sent by the Father, and anointed by the holy Ghost, to be both the Teacher and the Governour of his Church. By that Mission he received authority, and by Vnction abilities for these works which he performed in his own person, whilest he lived upon the earth: Before he left the World, that the Church might not want Teaching and Governing to the Worlds end, he chose certain persons upon whom he conferr'd both these powers, whereby they became also

also Apostles and Bishops, by making them partakers both of his Mission before his Assention (*As My Father sent Me so send I you*) and of his unction shortly after his assention, when he powred upon them the Holy Ghost at Penticost. The Mission both for teaching and governing (at least for the substance of it) was ordained and to continue to the end of the world (*Mat.* 28. 18. 20. and therefore necessarily to descend and be by them transmitted to others, as their Substitutes or successours. But the unction whereby they were enabled to both Offices or Functions, by the effusion of the Holy Ghost in such a plenteous measure of Knowledge, Tongues, Miracles, Propheſying, Healing, Infalibility of Doctrine, discerning of Spirits, and such like, was indeed extraordinary in them, and in some few others though in an inferiour measure, as God saw it needfull for the planting of the Churches, and the propogation of the Gospell in those Primitive times; and in this which was indeed extraordinary in them) they were not necessarily to have successiours. But it seems very unreasonable to attribute the exercise of that power, whether of Teaching or Governing to an extraordinary calling which being of necessary and continuall use in the Church, must therefore of necessity be the worke of a Function of ordinary and perpetuall use: therefore the acts of governing of the Church were no more nor otherwise in the Apostles, than the acts of Teaching the Church were; that is to say, both extraordinary for the manner of performance, in respect of their more than ordinary abilities for the same, and yet both ordinary for the substance of the offices themselves, and the works to be performed therein; and in these two ordinary offices, their ordinary Successors are Presbyters and Bishops; Presbyters *qua* Presbyters immediately succeeding them in the Office of teaching; and Bishops *qua* Bishops immediately in the office of Governing.

The instances of *Timothy* and *Titus*, you likewise endeavoured to avoid by the pretention of an extraordinary calling. But in this answer the insufficiency thereof is such (if all that is said therein could be proved) that his Majesty findeth very little satisfaction.

1. First you say that *Timothy* and *Titus* were (by Office) Evangelists, whereas of *Titus*, the Scripture no where implyes any such thing at all, and by your owne Rule, Authority without Scripture will beget (if that) but a Humane Faith, neither doth the Text clearly prove that *Timothy* was so.

2. Setting aside mens conjectures (which can breed but an humane faith neither) you cannot make it appear by any Text of Scripture, that the Office of an Evangelist, is such as you have described it; the work of an Evangelist, which Saint *Paul* exhorteth *Timothy* to do seems by the context (2 *Tim.* 2. 4. 5.) to be nothing but diligence in preaching the Word, notwithstanding all Impediments and Opposition.

3. That which you so confidently affirm, That *Timothy* and *Titus* acted as Evangelists, is not only denyed, but clearly refuted by *Sculletus*, *Gerrard*, and others; yea even with scorne rejected of late, (as his Majesty is informed) by some rigid Presbyterians, as *Gillespee*, *Rutherford*, &c. And that which you so confidently deny, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Bishops, is not only confirmed by the consentient testimony of all Antiquity (even *Jerome* himself having recorded it, that they were Bishops and that of St. *Pauls* Ordination) & acknowledged by very many late Divines:

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Divines: but a Catalogue also of 27. Bishops of *Ephesus* lineally succeeding from *Timothy*, out of good Records, is vouched by *Reynolds* against *Hart*, and by other Writers.

4. You affirme, but upon very weak proofs, That they were from *Ephesus* and *Crete* removed to other places. Some that have exactly out of Scripture compared the times and orders of the severall journeys and stations of Saint *Paul* and *Timothy* have demonstrated the contrary concerning that particular.

5. Whereas you say it is manifest from the 2 *Tim.* 4. 9. and *Tit.* 3. 12. That they were called away from these places; it doth no more conclude, that they were not Bishops there, or that they might as well be called Bishops of other Churches, than it may be concluded from the attendance of the Divines of the Assembly at *Westminster*, that they are not Parsons or Vicars of their several parishes.

Lastly, for the postscripts of these Epistles, though his Majesty lay no great weight upon them, yet he holdeth them to be of great antiquity, and therefore such as in question of fact, where there appears no strong evidence to weaken their belief, ought not to be lightly rejected.

Neither doth this lay any weight at all upon the Allegory or mystery of the denomination in the next point concerning the Angels of the Church, as you mistake in your answer thereunto; wherein his Majesty findes as little satisfaction as in the last point before. The strength of his Majesties instance lay in this, that by the judgement of all the antient and the best modern Writers, and by many probabilities in the Text it self, the Angels of the seven Churches were *personæ singulares*, and such as had a Prelacy as well over Pastors as people within their Churches, and

and that is in a word Bishops. And you bring nothing of moment in your answer to infirm this: you say truly indeed, That those Epistles were written in Epistolary stile, and so (as Letters to collective or representative bodies use to be) directed to one, but intended to the body. Which when you have proved, you are so far from weakning that you rather strengthen the argument to prove the Angels to have been single persons: As when his Majesty sendeth a Message to his two Houses, and directs it to the Speaker of the House of Peers, his intending it to the whole House, doth not hinder, but that the Speaker to whom it is directed is one single person still. Yet his Majesty cannot but observe in this (as in some parts of your answer) how willing you are *versari in generalibus*, and how unwilling to speak out, and to declare plainly and directly what your opinion is concerning those Angels, who they were, whether they were the great Antichrist of Episcopacy; *Salmatius* very peremptorily (*sit ergo hoc fixum, &c.*) affirmeth, the whole Churches; or so many individual Pastors of the greater Church in these Cities, or the whole College of Presbyters in the respective Churches, or the singular and individual Presidents of these Colleges. For into so many severall opinions are these few divided among themselves, who have divided themselves from the common and received judgement of the Christian Church.

In the following Discourse you deny that the Apostles were to have any successors in their Office, and affirm that they were to be onely two Orders of ordinary and standing Officers in the Church, *viz. Presbyters* and *Deacons*.

What his Majesty conceiveth concerning the Successors of the Apostles is in part already declared, *viz.* That they have no Successors in *eundem gradum*, in respect

pect of these things that were extraordinary in them, as namely the measure of their guifts, the extent of their charge, the infallibility of their doctrine, and (which is sundry times mentioned as a speciall character of an Apostle properly so called) they having seen Christ in the flesh. But in these things that were not extraordinary (and such those things are to be judged which are necessary for the service of the Church in all times, as the office of teaching and the power of Governing are) they were to have and hold Successors, and therefore the learned and godly Fathers and Councels of old times did usually stile Bishops the Successors of the Apostles, without any scrupling thereat.

And as to the standing Officers of the Church, although in the place by you cited, *Phil.* 1. 1. 1 *Tim.* 3. 8. there be no mention of Bishops as distinct from Presbyters, but of the two Orders only of Bishops or Presbyters and Deacons, yet it is not thereby proved that there is no other standing Office in the Church beside, for there appears to other Manifest Reasons, why that of Bishops might not be so proper to be mentioned in those places; the one, because in the Churches which the Apostles themselves planted, they placed Presbyters under them for the Office of teaching, and took upon themselves the care, and reserved in their own hands the power of governing of these Churches; for a longer or shorter time, as they saw it expedient for the propagating of the Gospell, before they set Bishops over them, and so it may be probable that there was as yet no Bishop set over the Church of *Philippi*, when Saint *Paul* writ his Epistle to them. The other, because in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the persons to whom they wrote being themselves Bishops, there was no need to write any thing concerning the choice

choice or qualification of any other sort of Officers, then such as belonged to their ordination or inspection which were Presbyters and Deacons only, and no Bishops.

Concerning the Ages succeeding the Apostles.

First his Majesty beleeveth, that although faith as it is an assent unto truth supernaturall, or of divine Revelation, reacheth no farther than the Scriptures, yet in matters of fact humane testimonies may beget a faith, though humane, yet certaine and infallible, as by credit of Histories we have an infallible faith that *Aristotle* was a Greek Philosopher, and *Cicero* a Roman Orator.

2. The Darknesse of these times in respect of the History of the Church is a very strong Argument for Episcopacy; for that notwithstanding the darknesse of the times there is found to be so full and clear a proof, by the unquestioned Catalogues extant in ancient Writers of the Bishops of sundry famous Cities, as *Ierusalem*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Rome*, *Ephesus*, *&c.* in a continued succession from the Apostles, as scarce any other matter of fact hath found the like.

3. In *Clements* testimony cited by you, his Majesty conceiveth you make use of your old fallacy, from the promiscuous use of the words to infer the indistinction of the things; for who can doubt of *Clements* opinion concerning the distinct Offices of Bishops and Presbyters, who either readeth his whole Epistle, or considereth that he himselfe was a Bishop in that sence, even by the confession of *Videlius* himself, a man never yet suspected to favour Bishops, who saith, after the death of *Linus* and *Cletus*, *Clemens solus Episcopi nomen retinuit, quia jam invaluerat distinctio Episcopi &*

& *Presbyteri*; and for *Ignatius* his Epistles, though some of late out of their partial disaffection to Bishops, have endeavoured to discredit the whole Volume of them by all possible means, without any regard either of ingenuity or Truth, yet sundry of them are such, as being attested by the suffrages of antiquity, cannot with any fore-head be denyed to be his; and there is scarce any of them which doth not give testimony to the Prelacy of a Bishop above a Presbyter: *Ignatius* himself was as a Bishop of *Antioch*, and a holy Martyr for the faith of Christ.

4. You grant that not long after the Apostles times Bishops are found in the writers of those times, reported, as in some superiority to Presbyters: but you might have added further out of these writers (if you had pleased) that they were some of them, as *Iames* at *Ierusalem*, *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, *Titus* in *Creet*, *Mark* at *Alexandria*, *Linus* and *Clement* at *Rome*, *Polycarpus* at *Smyrna*, constituted and ordained Bishops of these places by the Apostles themselves, and all of them reputed Successors to the Apostles in their Episcopall Office: and his Majesty presumeth you could not be ignorant, that all or most of the testimonies you recite of the antient Fathers, Writers of middle ages, Schoolmen, and Canonists, and the Book published under King *Henry* the eighth, do but either import the promiscuous and indifferent use of the names of Bishops and Presbyters, where of advantage ought not to be made to take away the difference of the things, or else they relate to a Schoole point (which in respect of the thing it self, is but a very nicety) disputed *pro* and *con* by curious questionists, *Virum Episcoparus sit ordo vel gradus*, both sides in the mean time acknowledging the right of Church-government to be in the Bishops alone, and not in the Presbyters; as also that there may be produced either from the very same Writers, or from others of as good Authority or credit, testimonies both for number and clearnesse farre beyond those by you mentioned to assert the three different degrees or orders (call them whether you will) of Ecclesiasticall Functions, (*viz.*) the Bishop, the Presbyter, and the Deacon.

As to that which you adde lastly, concerning the difference between primitive Episcopacy, and the present Hierarchy, albeit his Majesty doth conceive, that the accessions, or additions granted by the favour of his Royall progenitors, for the enlarging of the power or privileges of Bishops, have not made, or indeed can make the Government really and substantially to differ from what formerly it was, no more than the Addition of Arms or Ornaments can make a body really and substantially to differ from it selfe naked, or devested of the same; nor can think it either necessary or yet expedient, that the Elections of the Bishops, and some other circumstantialls touching their persons or Office should be in all respects the same under Christian Princes, as it was when Christians lived among Pagans, and under persecution; yet his Majesty so far approveth of your Answer in that behalfe, that he thinketh it well worthy the studies and endeavours of Divines of both Opinions, laying aside emulation and private interests, to reduce Episcopacy and Presbytery into such a well-proportioned forme of superiority and subordination, as may best resemble the Apostolicall and primitive times, so far forth as the different condition of the times, and the exigents of all considerable circumstances will admit, so as the power of Church Government in the particular Ordination which is meerly spirituall, may remaine *Authoritative* in the Bishop, but that power not to be exercised

sed without the concurrence or assistance of his Presbytery, as *Timothy* was ordained by the Authority of St. *Paul*, 2 *Tim.* 1. 6. but with the concurrence or assistance of the Presbytery, 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. Other powers of Government which belong to jurisdiction (though they are in the Bishops as before is expreſt) yet the outward exercise of them may be ordered and disposed or limited by the Soveraign power, to which by the Lawes of the place, and the acknowledgment of the Clergy they are subordinate; but his Majesty doubteth whether it be in your power to give him any perfect assurance, that in the desired abolition of the present Hierarchy, the utter abolishing of Episcopacy, and consequently of Presbytery is neither included nor intended.

As to the last part of his Majesties paper, his Majesty would have been better satisfied if you had been more Particular in your Answer thereunto; you tell him in generall, that there are substantialls in Church Government appointed by Christ, &c. but you neither say what these substantialls are, nor in whose hands they are left; whereas his Majesty expected that you would have declared your opinions clearly, whether Christ or his Apostles left any certaine form of Government to be observed in all Christian Churches; then whether the same binds all Churches to the particular observation thereof; or whether they may upon occasion alter the same, either in whole or in part. Likewise whether that certaine form of Government which Christ and his Apostles have appointed as perpetuall and unalterable (if they have appointed any such at all) be the Episcopall, or the Presbyterian Government, or some other differing from them both.

And whereas in the conclusion you beseech his Majesty, to look rather to the originall of Bishops, than to their

their succession, his Majesty thinks it needfull to look at both, especially since their Succession is the best clue, the most certaine and ready way to find out their originall.

His Majesty having returned you this answer, doth professe, that whatever is of weight in yours, shall have influence in him, so he doubts not but somewhat may appeare to you in His which was not so clear to you before; and if this debate may have this end, that it dispose others to the temper of accepting reason, as it shall him in endeavouring to give satisfaction in all he can to the two Houses, his Majesty believes though it hath taken up, it hath not mis-spent His time.

Newport, Octob. 6.

The Answer of the Ministers attending the Commissioners of Parliament, to the second Paper delivered to them by his Majesty, October 6. 1648.

Delivered to his Majesty October 17.

May it please your Majesty,

AS to our Paper of *October* the third, in answer to your Majesties of *October* the second, we did; so now againe we do acknowledge, that the Scriptures cited in the Margin of your Majesties Paper do prove, that the Apostles in their own persons, That *Timothy* and *Titus*, and the Angels of the Churches, had power respectively to do those things, which are in those places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now also we humbly do deny, that any of the persons or Officers fore-mentioned were Bishops, as distinct from Presbyters, or did exercise Episcopall Government in that sence: Or that this was in the least measure proved by the alleged Scriptures, and therefore

fore our *Negative* not being to the same point, or
state of the Question which was *affirmed*, we humb-
bly conceive that we should not be interpreted, to
have in effect denyed the very same thing, which
we had before granted; or to have acknowledged that
the severall Scriptures do prove the thing for which
they are cited by your Majesty: And if that which
we granted were all, that, by the Scriptures cited in
your Margin, your Majesty intended to prove; it will
follow, That nothing hath yet been proved on your
Majesties part, to make up that Conclusion which is
pretended.

As then we stood upon the Negative to that assert-
on, so we now crave leave to represent to your Ma-
jesty, that your reply doth not infirm the evidence
given in maintenance thereof. The Reason given by
your Majesty in this paper to support your assertion
That the persons that exercised the power aforesaid
were Bishops in distinct sense, is taken from a descrip-
tion of Episcopall Government; 'Which is (as
'your Majesty saith) nothing else, but the Govern-
'ment of the Churches within a certain precinct (com-
'monly called a Diocesse) committed to one single
'person, with sufficient authority over the Presbyters
'and people of those Churches for that end; which
'Government so prescribed, being for substance of
'the thing it selfe in all the three forementioned par-
'ticulars, (Ordaining, giving rules of Discipline, and
'Censures) found in Scriptures, except we will con-
'tend about names and words, must be acknowledged
'in the sense aforesaid to be sufficiently proved from
'Scriptures: and your Majesty saith further, that the
'Bishops do challenge more or other power to be-
'long to them, in respect of their Episcopall office, as
'it is distinct from that of presbyters, than what pro-
'perly falls under one of those three.

We

Wee desire to speake both to the Bishops of *Chal-
lenge*, and to your Majesties Description of *Epis-
copall Government*. And first to their Challenge; be-
cause it is first exprest in your MAJESTIES
Reply.

The Challenge we undertake in two Respects:
First, In respect of the *power* challenged: Second-
ly, In respect of that ground, or *tenure* upon
which the claim is laid. The power Challenged
consists of three particulars; *Ordaining*, *giving
Rules* of Discipline, and *Censures*. No more, no other,
in respect of their Episcopall Office. We see not, by
what warrant this Writ of partition is taken forth, by
which the Apostolicall office is thus shared or divided;
the *Governing* part into the Bishops hands; the *teaching*
and *administring* Sacraments, into the Presbyters. For
besides that the Scripture makes no such inclosure, or
partition wall, it appears the challenge is growne to
more than was pretended unto in the times of grown
Episcopacy. *Ierome* and *Chrysostome* do both acknow-
ledge for their time, that the Bishop and Presbyter
differed only in the matter of Ordination: and learn-
ned Doctor *Bilson* makes some abatement in the claim
of *three*, saying, the things proper to Bishops,
which might not be common to Presbyters, are sin-
gularly of Succeeding, and Superiority in ordain-
ing.

The *tenure* or ground upon which the claim is made
is Apostolicall, which with us is all one with *Divine
Institution*. And this, as far as we have learned, hath
not been *anciently*, *openly*, or *generally* avowed in this
Church of *England*, either in time of Popery, or of
the first Reformation; and whensoever the pretensi-
on hath been made, it was not without the contradi-
ction of learned, and godly men. The abettors of
the Challenge, that they might resolve it at last into
the

the Scripture, did chuse the most plausible way of ascending by the way of *Succession*; going up the River to find the Head: but when they came to Scriptures, and found it like the head of *Nile* (which cannot be found) they shrowded it under the name and countenance of the *Angels of the Churches*, and *Timothy* and *Titus*. Those that would carry it higher endeavoured to imp it into the *Apostolicall office*, and so at last called it a *Divine institution*, not in force any *expresse precept*, but *implicite practise* of the Apostles: and so the *Apostolicall Office* (excepting the gifts or enablements confest only extraordinary) is brought down to the *Episcopall*, and the *Episcopall* raised up to be *Apostolicall*. Whereupon it follows, that the highest Officers in the Church are put into a lower orb; *extraordinary* office turned into an *ordinary* distinct office, confounded with that which in the Scripture is *not found*; a *temporary* and an *extinct* office revived. And indeed, if the definitions of both be rightly made, they are so *Incompatible* to the same subject, that he that will take both must lose the one: *aut Apostolatum Episcopatum, aut Apostolatum Episcopi*. For the Apostles, though they did not in many things *ut alii*, they acted *alio nomine & alio munere* than Presbyters or Bishops can do; and if they were indeed Bishops and their Government properly Episcopall in distinct sense, then it is not needful to goe so far about to prove Episcopall Government of divine institution, because they practised it: but to assert expresly that Christ instituted it immediately in them.

For your Majesties *definition* of Episcopall government, it is extracted out of the Bishops of later times than Scripture times, and doth not suite with that Meridian, under which there were more Bishops than one in a precinct, or Church; and it is as fully competent to Archiepiscopall, and Patriarchall govern-

ment, as Episcopal. The parts of this definition. *materiall* and *abstractly* considered, may be found in Scripture. The Apostles *Timothy* and *Titus*, were single persons, but not limited to a Precinct: the Government of the Angells were limited to a Precinct, but not in single persons. In severall offices not to be confounded, the parts of this definition may be found; but the aggregation of them altogether into one ordinary Officer cannot be found. And if that word, *ordinary and standing Government*, had been made the *genus* in your Majesties definition (as it ought to be) we should crave leave to say it would be *gratis dictum*, if not *petitio principii*: for the Scripture doth not put all these parts together in a Bishop, who never borrowed of *Apostles*, *Evangelists* and *Angels* the matter of Governing and ordaining, and left the other of teaching, dispensing Sacraments, and dealing only *in foro interno*, to Presbyters, untill after times. By this that hath been said, it is manifest enough, that we contend not first *de nomine*, about the name of Episcopall Government: which yet (though names serve for distinction) is not called or distinguished by that name in Scripture. Nor secondly, *de opere*, about the work, whether the work of Governing, Ordering, preaching, &c. be of continuance in the Church, which we clearly acknowledge: But thirdly, *de munere*, about the Office, it being a great fallacy to argue, That the Apostles did the same worke which Bishops or Presbyters are to do in Ordinary; Therefore they were of the same Office: for as it is said of the liberall and learned Arts, one and the same thing may bee handled in divers of them, and yet these Arts are distinguisht from the *formalis ratio* of handling of them; so we say of Officers, they are distinguished by their Callings and Commissions, though not by the work, as all those that are named, (*Ephes.* 4. 11.) *Apostles Prophets*,

Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors and *Teachers*, are designed to one and the same generall and common work: *The work of the Ministery*, verſ 12. And yet they are not therefore all one, for its ſaid, *ſome* Apoſtles, *ſome* Prophets, *ſome* Evangeliſts, and *ſome* Paſtors and Teachers. A *Dictator* in *Rome* and an ordinary *Tribune*; *Moſes* and the ſubordinate Governours of *Iſrael*; The Court of *Parliament* and of the *Kings Bench*, an Apoſtle and a *Presbyter* or *Deacon* may agree in ſome common work, and yet no confuſion of Offices followes thereupon.

To that which your Majeſty conceives, that the moſt that can be proved from all, or any of thoſe places, by us alleged (to prove that the Name, Office, and Work of Biſhops and Presbyters is one and the ſame in all things, and not in the leaſt diſtinguiſht) is, that the word Biſhop is uſed in them to 'ſignifie a Preſbyter, and that conſequently the Of-'fice, and Work, mentioned in theſe places as the 'Office and Work of a Biſhop, are the Office 'of a Presbyter, which is confeſſed on all ſides; We make this humble return, That though there be no ſuppoſition ſo much as implied, that the Office of a Biſhop and a Presbyter, are diſtinct in any thing (for the names are mutually reciprocall) yet we take your Majeſties conceſſion, that in theſe times of the Church, and places of Scripture, there was no diſtinct Office of Biſhops and Presbyters; and conſequently that the identity of the Office muſt ſtand, untill there can be found a clear diſtinction or diviſion in the Scriptures, and if we had argued the identity of Functions from the *community* of names, *and ſome part* of the work, the Argument might have been juſtly termed a *fallacy*, but we proved them the ſame Office from the ſame worke, *per omnia*, being allowed ſo to doe by the fullneſs of thoſe two words uſed in the *Acts* and S. *Peter*

S. *Peter* his Epiſtle πρεσβυτερους and ἐπισκοπουντες under the force of which words the Biſhops claim their whole power of Government and Juriſdiction, and we found no little weight added to our Argument from that in the *Acts*, where the Apoſtle departing from the *Epheſian Presbyters or Biſhops*, as *never to ſee their faces more* commits (as by a finall charge) the Government of that Church, both over particular Presbyters and People, not to *Timothy* who then ſtood at his elbow, but to the Presbyters under the name of Biſhops, *made by the holy Ghoſt*, whom we read to have ſet many Biſhops over our Church, not one over either one or many, and the Apoſtles arguing from the ſame qualification of a Presbyter and of a Biſhop in order to Ordination or putting him into Office, fully proves them to be two names of the ſame Order or Function, the *diverſe Orders* of Presbyter and Deacon, being diverſly characteriſed, upon theſe grounds (wee hope without fallacy) we conceive it juſtly proved, that a Biſhop and a Presbyter are wholly the ſame. That *Timothy* and *Titus* were ſingle perſons, having authority of Government, we acknowledge; but deny, that from thence any Argument can be made unto either ſingle Biſhop or Presbyter: for though a ſingle Presbyter by the power of his Order (as they call it) may preach the Word and diſpenſe the Sacraments; yet by that example of the Presbytery, their *Laying on of hands*, and that Rule of *Telling the Church* in matter of ſcandall, it ſeems manifeſt, that Ordination and Cenſures are not to be exerciſed by a ſingle Presbyter; neither hath your Majeſty hitherto proved either the names of Biſhops and Presbyters, or the Function, to be in other places of Scripture at all diſtinguiſhed; You having wholly waved the notice or anſwer of that we did inſert (and do yet deſire ſome demonſtration of the contrary) *viz.* That the

the Scripture doth not afford us the least notice of any *qualification*, any *ordination*, any *work* or *duty*, any *honour* peculiarly belonging to a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter; the assignment of which, or any of them unto a Bishop, by the Scripture, would put this Question near to an issue. That GOD should intend a distinct and highest kind of Officer for Government in the Church, and yet not expresse any qualification, worke, or way of constituting and ordaining of him, seems unto us improbable. Concerning the signification of the word *Episcopus*, importing an Overseer, or one that hath a charge committed to him: For instance, of watching a Beacon, or *keeping Sheep*; and the application of the name to such persons as have inspection of the Churches of Christ committed to them *in spiritualibus*: We also give our suffrage, but not to that distinction of *Episcopus gregis*, and *Episcopus pastorum & gregis*, both because it is the point in Question; and because also your MAJESTY having signified that *Episcopus* imports a *keeper of sheep*, yet you have not said that it signifies also a *keeper of shepherds*. As to that which is affirmed by 'your Majesty, that the peculiar of the function of 'Bishops is Church Government; and that the reason 'why the said *Episcopus* is so usually applyed to 'Presbytery, was, because Church Governours had 'then another Title of greater eminency, to wit, that 'of *Apostles*, untill the Government of the Churches 'came into the hands of their Successours; and then 'the names were by common usage very soon appro-'priated; That of *Episcopus* to Ecclesiasticall Go-'vernours; That of *Presbyters* to the ordinary 'Ministers. This assertion your Majesty is pleased 'to make without any demonstration; for the Scripture calls Presbyters Rulers, and Pastors and Teachers it calls Governours; and commits to them

them the charge of feeding and inspection as wee have proved, and that without any mention of Church Government peculiar to Bishops; we deny not, but some of the Fathers have conceived the notion that Bishops were called Apostles, till the names of *Presbyter* and *Episcopus* became appropriate, which is either an allusion or conceipt, without evidence of Scripture; For, while the Function was one, the names were not divided; When the Function was divided, the name was divided also, and indeed impropriate; but we that look for the same warrant, for the division of an Office, as for the Constitution, cannot finde that this appropriation of names was made till afterwards, or in processe of time, as *Theodoret* (one of the Fathers of this conceit) affirms, whose saying, when it is run out of the pale of Scripture time, wee can no further follow; from which premises laid altogether, wee did conclude the cleernesse of our assertion, That in the *Scriptures of the New Testament*, a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter in *Qualification, Ordination, Office or Dignity* is not found, the contrary whereof though your Majesty saith, that you have seen confirmed by great variety of credible Testimony, yet we believe those testimonies are rather strong in asserting, than in demonstrating the Scriptures Original of a Bishop, which is declared against by a cloud of witnesses, named in the later end of our former Answer, unto which we should refer if matter of right were not proper tryable by Scripture, as matter of fact is by Testimony.

We said that the Apostles were the highest Order of Officers of the Church, that they were extraordinary, that they were distinguisht from all other Officers, and that their Government was not *Episcopall*, but *Apostolicall*; to which Answer, your Majesty being no

their office; to which we cannot give consent; for since no man is denominated an Officer from his meer abilities and gifts, so neither can the Apostles be called extraordinary Officers, because of extraordinary gifts, but that the Apostles mission and Office (as well as their abilites) was extraordinary and temporary doth appear in that it was by immediate Commission from Christ, without any intervention of men, either in Election or Ordination for planting an authoritative governing of all Churches through the World, comprehending in it all other Officers of the Church whatsoever; and therefore it seems to us very unreasonable, that the office and authority of the Apostles should be drawn down to an ordinary, thereby to make, as it were, a fit *stock*, into which the ordinary office of a Bishop might be *ingrafted*, nor doth the continuance of Teaching and Governing in Christ himself, render his office therefore Ordinary. The reason given, That the Office of Teaching and Governing, was ordinary in the Apostles, because of the continuance of them in the Church (we crave leave to say) is that great mistake which runs through the whole file of your Majesties discourse, for though there be succession in the *work* of Teaching and Governing, yet there is no succession in the *Commission or Office* by which the Apostles performed them, for the Office of *Christ*, of *Apostles*, of *Evangelists*, of *Prophets*, is thence also concluded Ordinary, as to *Teaching* and *Governing*, and the distinction of Offices Extraordinary and Ordinary *eatenus* destroyed; the Succession may be into the same *work*; not into the same *Commission and Office*, the ordinary Officers, which are to manage the work of Teaching and governing, are constituted, setled and limited by warrant of Scripture, as by another Commission than that which the Apostles had. And if your Majesty had shown us

us some Record out of Scripture, warranting the division of the Office of Teaching and Governing into two hands, and the appropriation of teaching to Presbyters, of governing to Bishops, the question had been determined, otherwise wee must look upon the dissolving of the Apostolicall Office, and distribution of it into these two hands, as the dictate of men who have a minde, by such a precarious Argument, to challenge to themselves the *Keyes of Authority*, and leave the *Word* to the Presbyters.

In our answer to the instances of *Timothy* and *Titus* (which Doctor *Bilson* acknowledgeth to bee the main erection of Episcopall power, if the proofs of their being Bishops, doe stand, or subversion, if the answer that they were Evangelists be good) your Majesty findes very little satisfaction though all that is said therein could bee proved.

First, because the Scripture no where implieth any such things at all, that *Titus* was an Evangelist, neither doth the Text clearly prove, that *Timothy* was so.

1. The name of *Bishop, the Scripture neither expressly, nor by implication gives it to either*, the work which they are enjoyned to doe is common to Apostles, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers, and cannot of it selfe make a character of one distinct and proper office: But that there was such an order of *Officers* in the Church as Evangelists reckoned amongst the extraordinary and temporary Offices, and that *Timothy* was one of that Order, and that both *Timothy* and *Titus* were not ordained to one particular Church, but were companions and fellow Labourers with the Apostles, sent abroad to severall Churches as occasion did require, it (is as we humbly conceive) clear

clear enough in Scripture, and not denied by the learned defenders of Episcopall Government, nor (as we remember) by *Scultetus* himself during the time of their travails.

'2. To that which your Majesty secondly saith, 'That we cannot make it appear by any Text of Scripture that the Office of Evangelists is such as wee have 'described, his worke seeming, 2. *Timothy* 2. 4. 5. to be nothing else but diligence in preaching the 'Word, notwithstanding all impediments and 'oppositions, We humbly Answer, that exact Definitions of these or other Church Officers are hard to be found in any Text of Scripture, but by comparing one place of Scripture with another, it may be proved as well what they were, as what the Apostles and Presbyters were, the description by us given being a Character made up by collation of Scriptures, from which Master *Hooker*, *Eccles. Polit. lib.* 5. doth not much vary, saying, that *Evangelists were Presbyters of principall sufficiency, whom the Apostles sent abroad and used as Legates in Ecclesiasticall affairs, whersoever they saw need.* And that *Pastors* and *Teachers* were setled in some certaine Charge, & thereby differed from to *Evangelists*, whose work that it should be nothing but diligence in preaching, &c. which is common to Apostles, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers, and so not distinctive of this particular Office, argueth to us, that as the Apostles Office was divided into Episcopall and Apostolicall, so this also is to be divided into Episcopall and Evangelisticall, Ordination and Censures belonging to *Timothy* as a bishop, and diligence in preaching only being left to the *Evangelists*, which division (as we humbly conceive) is not warranted by the Scripture.

'Thirdly, your Majesty saith, that that which we so

'so confidently affirm of *Timothy* and *Titus*, their acting as Evangelists, is by some *denied* and *refuted*, yea 'even with scorn *rejected* by some rigid Presbyterians; and that which we so confidently deny, that 'they were Bishops, is *confirmed* by the consentient testimony of all antiquity, recorded by *Jerome* himself, 'that they were Bishops of S. *Pauls* ordination, acknowledged by very many late Divines, and that a 'catalogue of twenty seven *Bishops of Ephesus* lineally succeeding from *Timothy*, out of good record, is 'vouched by D. *Reynolds* and other Writers.

Our confidence (as your Majesty is pleased to call it) was in our Answer expresst in these words, *We cannot say* that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Bishops in the sense of your Majesty's, but *extraordinary Officers or Evangelists*, in which opinion we were then cl ar, not out of a totall ignorance of those Testimonies which might be alledged against it, but from intrinsick arguments out of Scripture, from which your Majesty hath not produced any one to the contrary; nor is our confidence weakned by such replies as these; the Scripture never calls them Bishops, but the Fathers do; the Scripture calls *Timothy* an Evangelist; some of late have refuted it, and rejected it with scorn; the Scripture relates their motion from Church to Church, but some relate them to be fixed at *Ephesus* and in *Crete*: the Scripture makes distinction of Evangelists and Pastors, but some say that *Timothy* and *Titus* were both: we cannot give your Majesty a present account of *Scultetus* and *Ierhards* Arguments, but do believe that M. *Gillespie* and *Rutherford* are able with greater strength to refute that opinion of *Timothy* and *Titus* their being Bishops, then they do (if they do) with scorn reject this of their being Evangelists: As for *testimonies and catalogues*, though we undervalue them not, yet your Majesty will be pleased

sed to allow us the use of our Reason, so far as not to
expect an Office in the Church, which is not found in
Scripture, upon *generall appellations* or *titles* and *allu-*
sions frequently found in the Fathers, especially when
they speak *vulgarly*, and not as to a point in debate;
for even *Jerome*, who as your Majesty saith doth Re-
cord, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were made Bishops, and
and that of S. *Pauls* Ordination, doth when he speaks
to the point between your Majesty and us, give the
Bishops to understand that they are superiour to Pre-
byters *consuetudine magis quam Dominica veritatis*
dispositione; for *catalogues*, their credit rests upon the
first witnesses from whom they are reported by *tradi-*
tion from hand to hand, whose writings are many times
suppositi tious, *dubious*, or not *extant*; besides that these
catalogues do resolve themselves into some *Apostle* or
Evangelist as the first *Bishop*, as the *catalogue* of *Jeru-*
salem into the Apostle *James*, that of *Antioch* into Pe-
ter; that of *Rome* into *Peter* and *Paul*, that of *Alexan-*
dria into *Mark*, that of *Ephesus* into *Timothy*, which
Apostles and Evangelists can neither themselves be
degraded by being made Bishops, nor be succeeded in
their proper calling or Office; and it is easie for us to
proceed the same way, and to find many ancient rites
and customs generally received in the Church (counted
ted by the ancients *Apostolicall traditions*) as now
the Apostles times as Bishops, which yet, are confes-
sedly, not of *Divine institution*: and further, if *Timothy*
and the rest that are first in the *catalogue* were Bi-
shops with such sole power of Ordination and Co-
sures, as is asserted, how came their pretended Su-
cessors, who were but *primi Presbyterorum* (as the
Fathers themselves call them) to lose so much Epi-
copall power as was in their Predecessours, and
was not recovered in 300. hundred years; and there-
fore we cannot upon any thing yet said, recede from
that

that of our Saviour, *ab initio non fuit sic*, from the be-
ginning it was not so.

'Your Majesty saith, that we affirm but upon ve-
'ry weak proofes, that they were from *Ephesus* and
'*Crete* removed to other places, the contrary where-
'unto hath been demonstrated by some, who have
'exactly out of Scripture, compared the times, and
'order of the severall journeys, and stations of *Paul*
'and *Timothy*.

It is confessed that our assertion, that *Timothy* and
Titus were Evangelists, lies with some stresse upon
this, that they *removed from place to place*, as they
were *sent by* or *accompanied* the Apostles, the
proof whereof appeares to us, to be of greater
strength then can be taken off by the comparison
which your Majesty makes of the *Divines of the As-*
sembly at Westminster. We begin with the *Travails* of
Timothy, as we find them in order recorded in the
Scripture-places cited in the Margin; and we *set*
forth from *Berea*, *Acts* 17.14. where we find *Timo-*
thy; then next at *Athens*, *v.* 15. from whence *Paul*
sends him to *Thessalonica*, 1 *Thes.* 3.1,2. afterward ha-
ving been in *Macedonia*; he came to *Paul* at *Corinth*,
Acts 18.5. and after that, he is with *Paul* at *Ephesus*,
and thence sent by him into *Macedonia*, *Acts* 19.22.
whither S. *Paul* went after him, and was by *Timothy*
accompanied into *Asia*, *Acts* 20.4. who was with him
at *Troas*, *verse* 5.6. who was with him at *Miletus*,
verse 17. to which place Saint *Paul* sent for the Pres-
byters of the Church in *Ephesus*, and gave them that
solemn charge to take heed unto *themselves*, and to
all the *flock*, over which the Holy Ghost hath made
them Bishops, not speaking a word of recommen-
dation of that Church to *Timothy*, or of him to the
Elders. And if *Timothy* was *Bishop of Ephesus*, he
must be so when the *first Epistle* was sent to him, in

which he is pretended to receive the charge of exercising his Episcopall power in Ordination and Government; but it is manifest that after this Epistle sent to him, he was in continuall journeys, or absent from *Ephesus*. For *Paul* left him at *Ephesus* when he went from *Macedonia*, 1 *Tim.* 1.3. and he left him there to exercise his Office, in regulating and ordering that Church and in ordaining; but it was after this time that *Timothy* is found with *Paul* at *Miletus*; for after *Paul* had been at *Miletus*, he went to *Jerusalem*, whence he was sent prisoner to *Rome*, and never came more into *Macedonia*, and at *Rome*, *Heb.* 13.23. *Phil.* 1.1. *Philem. v.* 1. *Col.* 1.1. *Heb.* 13.23. we find *Timothy* a prisoner with him; and these Epistles which *Paul* wrote while he was prisoner at *Rome*, namely the Epistle to the *Philippians*, to *Philemon*, to the *Colossians*, to the *Hebrews*, do make mention of *Timothy* as his companion at these times, nor do we ever find him again at *Ephesus*, for we find that *after all this*, towards the end of Saint *Pauls* life, after his first answering before *Nero*, and when he said his departing was at hand, he sent for *Timothy* to *Rome*, not from *Ephesus*; 2 *Tim.* 4. 6. 10, 11, 12, &c. for it seems that *Timothy* was not there, because *Paul* giving *Timothy* an account of the absence of the most of his companions sent into divers parts, he saith *Tychicus* have I sent to *Ephesus*. Now if your Majesty shall be pleased, to cast up into one totall that which is said, the several journeys and stations of *Timothy*, the order of them, the time spent in them, the nature of his employment, to *negotiate the affaires of Christ in severall Churches and places*, the silence of the Scriptures, as touching his being Bishop of any one Church, you will acknowledge that such a man was not a Bishop fixed to one Church or precinct, and then by assuming that *Timothy* was such a

a man, you will conclude that he was not Bishop of *Ephesus*. The like conclusion may be enforced from the like premises, from the instance of *Titus*, whom we find at *Jerusalem*, *Galat.* 1. 2. before he came to *Crete*, from whence he is sent for to *Nicopolis*, *Tit.* 3. 12. and after that he is sent to *Corinth*, from whence he is expected at *Troas*, 2 *Cor.* 2. 12. and met with *Paul* in *Macedonia*, 2 *Cor.* 5.6. whence he is sent again to *Corinth*, 2 *Cor.* 8.6. and after all this is near the time of *Pauls* death at *Rome*, from whence he went not into *Crete*, but unto *Dalmatia*, 2 *Tim.* 4. 10. and after this is not heard on the Scripture; and so we hope your Majesty doth conceive, that we affirm not upon very *weak proofs*, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were from *Ephesus*, and *Crete* removed to other places.

In the fifth exception your Majesty takes notice of two places of Scripture cited by us, to prove that they were called away from those places of *Ephesus*, and *Crete*; which if they do not conclude much of themselves, yet being accompanied by *two other places* which your Majesty takes no notice of, may seem to conclude more, and these are 1 *Tim. v.* 1.3. *Tit.* 1.5: *As I besought thee to abide still at* Ephesus, *for this cause* left I thee in *Crete*, in both which is specified the occasionall imployment, for which they made stay in those places: and the expressions used, I besought thee to *abide still at Ephesus*, *I left thee* in *Crete*, doe not sound like words of *installment* of a man into a Bishoprick, but of an *intendment* to call them away again; and if the first and last be put together, his *actuall revocation* of them both, the intimation of his intention, that they should not stay there for continuance, and the reason of his beseeching the one to stay, and of his leaving the other behind him, which was some present defects and distempers in those Churches; they will put fair to prove that the Apo-

ſtle *intended not* to eſtabliſh them Biſhops of thoſe places, and therefore *did not*. For the *Poſtſcripts*, because your Majeſty laies no great weight upon them, we ſhall not be ſolicitous in producing evidence againſt them, though they do bear witneſſe in a matter of fact, which in our opinion *never was*, and in your Majeſties judgement *was long before they were born*, and ſo we conclude this diſcourſe about *Timothy* and *Titus* with this Obſervation, That in the ſame very Epiſtle of *Paul* to *Timothy*, out of which your Majeſty hath endeavoured to prove that he was a Biſhop, and did exerciſe Epiſcopall Government; there is clear evidence both for Presbyters *impoſing hands*, in Ordination, and for their *Ruling*.

In the next point concerning the Angels of the 'Churches, though your Majeſty ſaith, that you lay no 'weight upon the *Allegory* or *Myſtery* of the denomi-'nation; yet you aſſert, that the perſons bearing that 'name were *perſonæ ſingulares*, and in a word *Biſhops*, who yet are never ſo called in Scripture, and the allegoricall denomination of Angels or Starrs, which in the judgement of ancient and modern Writers doth belong to the faithfull Miniſters and Preachers of the Word in generall, is appropriate (as we may ſo ſay) to the *Myter* and *Croſier ſtaffe*, and ſo oppoſed to many expreſſe teſtimonies of Scripture: And if your Majeſty hath been particular in that, wherein you ſay the ſtrength of your inſtance lies, *viz.* The judgement of all ancient, and of the beſt modern Writers, and many probabilities in the Text it ſelf, we hope to have made it apparent, that many ancient and eminent Writers, many probabilities out of the Text it ſelf do give evidence to the contrary. To that which is aſſerted, That theſe ſingular perſons were Biſhops in diſtinct ſenſe, whether we brought any thing of moment to infirme this, we humbly ſubmit to your Majeſties

Majeſties judgement, and ſhall onely repreſent to you, that in your Reply you have not taken notice of that which in our Anſwer ſeemes to us of moment, which is this; That in *Myſterious* and *prophetick writings* or *viſional repreſentations* (ſuch as this of the ſtars and golden Candleſticks is) a number of things or perſons is uſually expreſt *in ſingulars*, and this in viſions is the uſuall way of Repreſentation of things, a *thouſand perſons* making up one Church, is repreſented by one *Candleſtick*; Many Miniſters making up one Presbytery, by one Angell. And becauſe your Majeſty ſeems to call upon us to be particular, though we cannot name the Angells, nor are ſatisfied in our judgement, that thoſe whom ſome do undertake to name were intended by the name of Angells in thoſe Epiſtles; yet we ſay, *Firſt*, that theſe Epiſtles were ſent unto the Churches, and that under the expreſſion of *this thou doſt*, or *this thou haſt*, and *the like*, the *Churches* are reſpectively intended, for the *ſin reproved*, the *repentance commanded*, the *puniſhments threatned*, are to be referred to the Churches, and not to the ſingular Angells only, and yet we do not think that *Salmatius* did intend, nor do we, that in formall denomination the *Angels* and *Candleſticks* are the ſame.

Secondly, The Angels of theſe Churches or *Rulers* were a *Collective Body*, which we endeavoured to prove by ſuch probabilities as your Majeſty takes no notice of, namely the inſtance of the Church of *Epheſus*, where there were many Biſhops, to whom the charge of that Church was Saint *Paul* at his finall departure from them committed, as alſo by that expreſſion, *Revel.* 2. 24. *To you* and to the reſt in *Thiatira*; which diſtinction makes it very probable, that the *Angel* is explained under that *plurality*, *to you*; the like to which many expreſſions may be found

in these Epistles, which to interpret according to the consentient evidence of other Scriptures of the New Testament, is not safe onely, but Solid and Evidential.

Thirdly, these Writings are directed as Epistolary Letters to *Collective Bodies*, usually are (that is) to *One*, but intended to the *Body*; which your Majesty illustrateth by your sending a Message to your two Houses, and directing it to the *Speaker of the House of Peers*; which as it doth not hinder (we confess) but that the *Speaker is one single person*; so it doth not prove at all, that the *Speaker* is *always the same person*; or if he were, that therefore because your Message is directed to him, he is the *Governour* or *Ruler* of the two Houses in the least; and so your Majesty hath given clear instance, that though these Letters be directed to the *Angels*, yet that notwithstanding they might neither be Bishops, nor yet *perpetuall Moderators*. For the severall opinions specified in your MAJESTIES paper, *three* of them, by easie and fair accommodation (as wee declared before) are soon reduced and united amongst themselves, and may be holden without *recess* from the received judgment of the Christian Church, by such as are farre from meeting that Aspersion, which is cast upon the *Reformed Divines*, by Popish Writers, that they have divided themselves from the common and received judgment of the *Christian Church*; which imputation, we hope, was not in your Majesties intention to lay upon us, *untill* it be made clear that it is the common and received judgment of the *Christian Church* that *now is*, or of that in *former Ages*, that the Angels of the Churches were Bishops, having Prelacy as well over Pastors as people within their Churches.

In the following Discourse we will deny, that the

the Apostles were to have any Successours in their Office, and affirmed onely *two Orders of Ordinary and Standing Officers* in the Church, *viz. Presbyters* and *Deacons*. Concerning the former of which your MAJESTY refers to what you had in part already declared. 'That in those things which were extraordinary in the Apostles, as namely the measure of their 'Gifts, &c. They had no Successours in *eundem gradum*; but in those things which were not extraordinary, as the Office of Teaching and Power of Governing (which are necessary for the Service of 'the Church in all Times) they were to have and 'had no Successours: Where your Majesty delivers a Doctrine *new* to us. Namely, that the Apostles had Successours into their Offices, not into their Abilities: For besides that, Succession is not properly into Abilities, but into Office; We cannot say, that one succeeds another in his Learning, or Wit, or Parts, but in his Room and Function: we conceive, that the office Apostolical was extraordinary *in whole*, because their Mission and Commission was so, and the service or work of Teaching and Governing being to continue in all times doth not render their Office ordinary; as the Office of *Moses* was not rendred Ordinary, because many works of Government exercised by him, were re-committed to the *standing Elders of Israel*: And if they have Successours, it must be either into their whole Office, or into some parts: Their Successors into the whole (however differing from them in measure of Gifts and peculiar Qualifications) must be called Apostles; the same Office gives the same Denomination; and then we shall confess that Bishops, if they be their Successors in Office, are of *Divine Institution*, because the Apostolical Office was so; if their *Successors* come into part of their Office onely, the *Presbyters* may be as well called their

Successors,

Successors, as the Bishops, and so indeed they are called by some of the ancient Fathers, *Irenæus*, *Origen*, *Hierome*, and others: Whereas in truth the Apostles have not properly *Successors* into office, but the ordinary power of Teaching and Governing (which is setled in the Church for continuance) is instituted and setled in the hands of ordinary Officers by a *new warrant* and Commission according to the rules of Ordination and calling in the Word, which the the Bishop hath not yet produced for himself, and without which he cannot challenge it upon the generall allusive Speeches used by the Fathers without scruple.

And whereas your Majesty numbers the *extent* of their work amongst those things which were *extraordinary* in the Apostles, we could wish that you had declared whether it belong to their Mission or Unction; for we humbly conceive, that their authoritative power to do their work in all places of the World, did properly belong to their Mission, and consequently that their office, as well as their Abilities was extraordinary, and so by your *Majesties own concession* not to be succeeded into by the Bishops.

As to the Orders of standing Officers of the Church your Majesty doth reply, 'That although in the places cited, *Phil.* 1.1. 1 *Tim.* 3. 8. there be no mention 'but of the *two Orders onely of Bishops or Presbyters, and* '*Deacons*; yet it is not thereby proved that there is no other standing Office in the Church besides which we humbly conceive is justly proved, not only because there are no other named, but because there is no rule of Ordaining any *third*, no Warrant or *way of Mission*, and so the Argument is as good, as can be made, *à non causa ad non effectum*; for we do not yet apprehend that the Bishops pretending to the Apostolick Office do also pretend to the same manner of Mission, nor do we know that those very many Divines

vines that have asserted *two orders onely*, have concluded it from any other grounds then the Scriptures cited.

There appears (as your Majesty saith) two other manifest reasons why the Office of Bishops might not be so proper to be mentioned in those places. And we humbly conceive there is a third more manifest then these two, *viz.* because, *It was not.*

'The one reason given by your Majesty, is because 'in the Churches which the Apostles themselves 'planted, they placed Presbyters under them for the 'Office of Teaching, but reserved in their *own hands* 'the power of Governing those Churches for a longer 'or shorter time before they set Bishops over them. Which under your Majesties favour is not so much a reason why *Bishops are not mentioned* to be in those places as they indeed were not; the variety of reasons (may we say, or conjectures) rendred why Bishops were not set up at *first*, as namely because *fit men* could not be so soon found out, which is *Epiphanius* his reason; or for remedy of *chisme*, which is *Jeromes* reason, or because the Apostles saw it not *expedient*, which is your MAJESTIES reason: doth shew that this cause labours under a manifest weakness; for the Apostles reserving in their own hands the power of Governing, we grant it, they could no more devest themselves of power of Governing, then (as Doctor *Bilson* saith) thy could lose their Apostleship: had they set up Bishops in all Churches, they had no more parted with their power of Governing, then they did in setting up the Presbyters: for we have proved that Presbyters, being called *Rulers*, *Governours*, *Bishops*, had the power of governing in *Ordinary*, committed to them, as well as the Office of *Teaching*, and that both the *Keys* (as they are called) being by our Saviour committed in-

to

to *one hand*, were not by the Apostles divided *into two*: Nor do we see, how the Apostles could, reasonably, commit the Government of the Church to the Presbyters of *Ephesus*, *Acts* 20. and yet reserve the power of governing (*viz.* in ordinary) in his own hands, who took *his solemn leave of them as never to see their faces more.* As that part of the power of Government, which for distinction sake may be called *Legis-Lative*, and which is one of the three fore-mentioned things challenged by the Bishops; *viz. Giving Rules*, the reserving of it in the Apostles hands hindred not; but that in your MAJESTIES judgement *Timothy* and *Titus* were Bishops of *Ephesus* and *Crete*, to whom the Apostle gives Rules for ordering and governing of the Church: Nor is there any more reason that the Apostles reserving that part of the power of governing, which is called Executive in such cases, and upon such occasions as they thought meet, should hinder the setting up of Bishops, if they had intended it; and therefore the reserving of power in their hands can be no greater reason why they did not set up Bishops *at the first*, then that *they never did.* And since (by your Majesties Concession) the Presbyters were placed by the Apostles *first*, in the Churches by them planted, and that with power of Governing, as we prove by Scripture, you must prove the *super-institution* of a Bishop over the Presbyters by the Apostles in some after times, or else we must conclude that the Bishops got both his Name and power of Government out of the Presbyters hand, as the *Tree in the wal* roots out the stones by little and little as it self grows.

As touching *Philippi*, where your Majesty saith, it may be probable there was *yet no Bishop*, it is certaine there *were many* like them, who were also at *Ephesus*, to whom if only the Office of Teaching did belong, they

they had the most laborious and honourable part, that which was lesse honorable being reserved in the Apostles hands, and the Churches left in the mean time without ordinary Government.

The other reason given why two Orders only are mentioned in those places is, because he wrote in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus* to them that were Bishops, so there was no need to write any thing concerning the choice and qualification of any other sort of Officers then such, as belonged to their Ordination and inspection, which were Presbyters and Deacons only, and no Bishops.

The former reason why two only Orders are mentioned in the Epistle to the *Philippians*, was, because *there was yet no Bishop*; this latter reason why the same two onely are mentioned in these Epistles, is because there was *no Bishop to be ordained*; we might own the reason for good, if there may be found any rule for the Ordination of the other order of Bishops in some other place of Scripture, but if the *Ordination cannot be found*, how should we *find the Order*? and it is reasonable to think, that the Apostle in the Chapter formerly alledged, 1 *Tim.* 3. where he passes immediately from the Bishop to the Deacon, would have distinctly exprest, or at least hinted, what sort of Bishop he meant, whether the *Bishop over Presbyters*, or the *Presbyter-Bishop*, to have avoided the confusion of the name, and to have set as it were some mark of difference in the *Escbocheon* of the Presbyter-Bishop, if there had been some other Bishop *of a bigger house*. And whereas your Maj. saith, there was no need to write to them about a Bishop in a distinct sense, who belonged not to their ordination and inspection; we conceive that in your Majesties judgment, Bishops might then have ordained Bishops like themselves; for there was then no *Canon* forbidding one single Bishop

to

to ordain another of his own rank, and there being many cities in *Crete*, *Titus* might have found it expedient (as those ancient Fathers that call him Arch-Bishop think he did) to have set up Bishops in some of those cities: so that this reason fights against the principles of those that hold *Timothy* & *Titus* to have been Bishops; for our part we believe that these rules belonged not to *Timothy* & *Titus* with strict limitation to *Ephesus* & *Crete*; but respectively to all the places or Churches where they might come; and to all that shall at any time have the office of Ordaining and Governing, as it is written in the same Chapter, 1 *Tim.*3.14,15. *Those things I have written unto thee, &c. that thou mayest know how to behave thy self in the House of God*, which is the *Church*; and therefore if there had been any proper character or qualification of a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter; if any Ordination or Office, we think the Apostle would have signified it, but because he did not, we conclude (and the more strongly from the insufficiency of your Majesties two reasons) that there are onely two Orders of Officers, and consequently that a Bishop is not superior to a Presbyter: for we find not (as we said in our Answer) that one Officer is superior to another, who is of the same Order.

Concerning the Ages succeeding the Apostles.

'Your Majesty having in your first Paper said, that 'you could not in conscience consent to abolish Epi-'scopal Government, because you did conceive it 'to be of Apostolical Institution, practised by the A-'postles themselves, and by them committed and de-'rived to particular persons as their Successors, and 'have ever since till these last times been exercised by 'Bishops in all the Churches of Christ: We thought it

it necessary in our Answer, to subjoyne to that we had said out of the Scriptures, the judgement of divers ancient Writers and Fathers, by whom Bishops were not acknowledged as a *Divine*, but as an *Ecclesiastical Institution*, as that which might very much conduce both to the easing of your Majesties scruple, to consider that howsoever Episcopall Government was generally currant, yet the superscription was not judged Divine, by some of those that either were themselves Bishops, or lived under that government, and to the vindication of the opinion which we hold, from the prejudice of *Novelliſme*, or of *recesse* from the judgement of all Antiquity.

We do as firmly believe (as to matter of fact) that *Chrysostome* and *Austin* were Bishops, as that *Aristotle* was a *Philosopher*, *Cicero* an Oratour; though we should rather call our faith and belief thereof certain in matter of fact, upon humane testimonies uncontrolled, then infallible in respect of the Testimonies themselves. But whereas your Majesty saith, 'That 'the darknesse of the History of the Church, in the 'time succeeding the Apostles, is a strong argument 'for Episcopacy, which notwithstanding that dark-'nesse, hath found so full proof by unquestioned Cata-'logues, as scarce any other matter of fact hath found 'the like. We humbly conceive that those fore-mentioned times were dark to the Catalogue-makers, who must drive the *series* of Succession from, and through those Historicall darknesses, and so make up their catalogues very much from Tradition and Reports, which can give no great evidence, because they agree not amongst themselves: that which is the great blemish of their evidence is, that the neerer they come to the Apostles times (wherein they should be most of all clear, to establish the Succession firm and clear at first) the more doubtfull, uncertain, and indeed contradictory

contradictory to one another, are the Testimonies. Some say that *Clemens* was first Bishop of *Rome*, after *Peter*, some say the third: and the intricacies about the Order of Succession, in *Linus*, *Anacletus*, *Clemens*, and another called *Cletus* (as some affirm) are inextricable. Some say, that *Titus* was Bishop of *Crete*; some say Archbishop; and some Bishop of *Dalmatia*. Some say, that *Timothy* was Bishop of *Ephesus*; and some say, that *John* was Bishop of *Ephesus* at the same time: Some say that *Polycarpus* was first Bishop of *Smyrna*; another saith, that he succeeded one *Buculus*; and another, that *Aristo* was first. Some say, that *Alexandria* had but one Bishop, and other Cities two; and others, that there was but one Bishop of one City at the same time. And how should those Catalogues be unquestionable, which must be made up out of Testimonies that fight one with another? We must confesse that the ancient Fathers, *Tertullian*, *Irenæus*, *&c.* made use of Succession, as an Argument against *Heretikes*, or Innovators, to prove that they had the *traduces Apostolici seminis*, and that the Godly and Orthodox Fathers were on their side. But that which we now have in hand, is Succession in Office; which according to the Catalogues, resolves it self into some Apostle, or Evangelist, as the first Bishop of such a City or Place, who (as we conceive) could not be Bishops of those places, being of an higher Office; though according to the language of after-times they might by them that drew up the catalogues, be so called, because they planted, and founded, and watered those Churches to which they are intituled, and had their greatest residence in them: or els the Catalogues are drawn from some eminent men that were of great veneration and reverence in the times and places where they lived, and Presidents or Moderators of the Presbyteries, whereof themselves

themselves were members: from whom, to pretend the succession of after Bishops, is as if it should be said, that *Cæsar* was Successor to the Roman Consuls. And we humbly conceive, that there are some Rites and Ceremonies used continually in the Church of old, which are asserted to be found in the Apostolicall and primitive times, and yet have no colour of Divine institution, and, which is an Argument above all other, the Fathers whose names were exhibited to your Majesty in our Answer, were doubtles acquainted with the Catalogues of Bishops who had been before them, & yet did hold them to be of *Ecclesiastical institution*. And lest your Majesty might reply, that however the Testimonies & Catalogues may vary, or be mistaken in the order, or times, or names of those Persons that succeeded the Apostles, yet all agree, that there was a succession of some persons; and so though the credit of the Catalogues be infirmed, yet the thing intended is confirmed thereby: we grant that a succession of men to feed and govern those Churches, while they continued Churches, cannot be denyed, and that the Apostles and Evangelists that planted and watered those Churches (though extraordinary and temporary Officers) were by Ecclesiasticall writers, in *complyance with the language and usage of their own times*, called Bishops; and so were other eminent men, of chief note, *presiding* in the *Presbyterys* of the Cities or Churches, called by such writers as wrote after the division or distinction of the names of Presbyters, and Bishops: but that those first and antientest Presbyters were Bishops in proper sense, according to your Majesties description, invested with power over Presbyters and people, to whom (as distinct from Presbyters) did belong the power of ordaining, giving Rules, and Censures; we humbly conceive can never be proved by authentick or competent testimonies. And

granting, that your Majesty should prove the Succession of Bishops from the Primitive times *seriatim*: yet if these from whom you draw, and through whom you derive it, be found either more than Bishops, as Apostles and extraordinary persons, or lesse than Bishops, as meerly *first* Presbyters, having not one of the *three essentialls to Episcopal government* (mentioned by your Majesty) in their own hand; it will follow, that all that your Majesty hath proved by this Succession, is the *Homonomy* and equivocall acceptation of the word *Episcopus*.

For *Clemens* his testimony, which your Majesty conceiveth to be made use of, as our old fallacy, from the promiscuous use of the words to infer the distinction of the things, we refer our selves to himselfe in his Epistle, now in all mens hands, whose testimony we think cannot be eluded, but by the old artifice of *hiding the Bishop under the Presbyters name*: For they that have read his whole Epistle, and have considered, that himselfe is called a Bishop, may doubt of *Clemens opinion*, concerning his distinct Offices of Bishops and Presbyters, or rather not doubt of it, if only his one Epistle may be impaneld upon the inquest. Concerning *Ignatius* his Epistles, your Majesty is pleased to use some earnestnesse of expression, charging some of late, without any regard of *ingenuity* or *truth*, out of their partiall disaffection to Bishops, to have endeavoured to discredit his writings. One of those cited by us, cannot (as we conceive) be suspected of disaffection to Bishops; and there are great arguments drawn out of those Epistles themselves, betraying their insincerity, adulterate mixtures, and *interpolations*; So that *Ignatius* cannot be distinctly known in *Ignatius*. And if we take him in grosse, we make him the *Patron* (as *Baronius* and the rest of the Popish writers do) of such rites and observations, as the Church in

in his time cannot be thought to have *owned*. He doth indeed give testimony to the *Prelacy* of a Bishop above a Presbyter, that which may justly render him suspected, is that he, *gives too much honour* (saith he) *the Bishops* as Gods high Priests, and *after him* you must honour the *King*. He was indeed a holy *Martyr*, and his writings have suffered *Martyrdom*, as well as he, *corruptions could not go current, but under the credit of worthy names*.

That which your Majesty saith in your fourth Paragraph, That we might have added (if we had pleased) That *Iames*, *Timothy*, *Titus &c.* were constituted and ordained Bishops, of the forementioned places respectively, and that all the Bishops of those times were reputed Successors to the *Apostles in their Episcopall office*: we could not have added it without prejudice (as we humbly conceive) to the truth; for the Apostles did not ordain *any of themselves Bishops*, nor could they do it; for even by your Majesties confession, they were Bishops before, *viz.* as they were Apostles; nor could any Apostle have his choice of a *certaine Region* or place to exercise his function in, whilest he pleased render him a Bishop, any more than *Paul* was Bishop of the *Gentiles*, *Peter* of the *Circumcision*. Neither did the Apostles ordaine the Evangelists Bishops of those places unto which they sent them: Nor were the Bishops of those times any more than as your Majesty, saith *reputed Successors* to the Apostles, in their Episcopall Office, they came after the Apostles in the Churches by them planted, so might Presbyters do; but that is not properly succession, at least not succession into Office, and this we say with a *Salvo* to our assertion, that in those times there were no such Bishops distinct from Presbyters: Neither do we understand, whether the words *Episcopall Office*, in this Section, refer to the Bishops or

Apostles; for in reference to Apostles, it insinuates a distinction of the Apostles office, into Apostolical and Episcopall, or that the office Apostolicall was wholly Episcopall, unto neither of which we can give our consent for reasons forementioned. To the testimonies by us recited in proof of two only Orders, your Majesty answers first, that the promiscuous use of the names of Bishops and Presbyters, is imported, That which his Majesty not long ago called *Our old fallacy*, is now your answer only with this difference: We under promiscuous names hold the same office: your Majesty under promiscuous names supposes two, which if as it is often asserted was but once proved, we should take it for a determinate of this controversie. Secondly, that they relate to a School-'point, or a nicety, *Utrum Episcopus sit ordo vel 'gradus*, both sides of the questionists or disputants 'in the mean time acknowledging the right of Church 'Government in the Bishops alone; It is confest by us, that that question as it is stated by Popish Authors, is a curious nicety, to which we have no eye or reference; for though the same Officers may differ from and excell others of the same Order in guifts or qualifications; yet the Office it selfe is one and the same without difference or degrees, as one Apostle or Presbyter, is not superiour to another in degree of Office, they that are of the same order are of the same degree, in respect of Office, as having power and authority to the same Acts. Nor doth the Scripture warrant or alow, any superiority of one over another of the same Order; and therefore the proving of two Orders only in the Church, is a Demonstration, that Presbyters and Bishops are the same. In which point the Scripture will counter-ballance the testimonies of those that assert three degrees or orders though ten for one. But for easing of your Majesty of the

the trouble of producing testimonies against those cited by us, we make this humble motion, that the Regiments on both sides may be discharged out of the field, and the point disputed by dint of holy Scripture, *id verum quod primum*.

Having passed through the argumentative parts of your Majesties Reply, wherein we should account it a great happinesse to have given your Majesty any satisfaction, in order whereunto you pleased to honour us with this imployment, we shall contract our selves in the remainder, craving your Majesties pardon, if you shall conceive us to have been too much in the former, and too little in that which followes. We honour the pious intentions and munificence of your Royall Progenitors, and do acknowledge that ornamentall accessions granted to the person, doe not make any substantiall change in the Office; the reall difference between that Episcopall Government, which first obtained in the Church, and the present Hierarchy, consists *in ipso regimine, & modo regiminis*, which cannot be clearly demonstrated in particulars, untill it be agreed on both sides, what that Episcopacy was then, and what the Hierarchy is now, and then it would appear, whether these three fore-mentioned essentials of Episcopall Government, were the same in both: for the power under Christian Princes, and under Pagan, is one and the same, though the exercise be not. And we humbly receive your Majesties Pious advertisement, (not unlike that of *Constantines*) stirring us up as men unbiassed with private interests, to study the neerest accommodation and best resemblance to the apostolicall and primitive times. But for your Majesties *Salvo* to the Bishops sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction, and that distinction of Ordination, authoritative in the Bishop, and the Concomitant in the Presbytery, which

which you seem to found upon these two Texts, two *Tim.*1.6.1 *Tim.*4.14. and which is used by Dr. *Bilson*, and other defenders of Episcopacy, in Explication of that Canon of the fourth Councell of *Carthage*, which enjoynes the joynt imposition of the Bishops and Presbyters hands, we shall give your Majesty an account, when we shall be called to the disquisition thereof; Albeit that we do not for the present see, but that this proviso of your Majesty, renders our accommodation to the Apostolicall and primitive times (whereunto you did exhort us) unseisable. We notwithstanding, do fully professe our acknowledgement of subordination of the outward exercise of jurisdiction, to the Soveraine power, and our accomptableness to the Lawes of the Land. As for your Majesties three questions of great importance, whether there be a certain form of Government, left by Christ or his Apostles, to be observed by all Christian Churches; whether it bind perpetually, or be upon occasion alterable in whole, or in part; whether that certain form of Government be the Episcopal, Presbyterian, or some other differing from them both: the whole Volume of Ecclesiasticall Policy is contained in them; and we hope that neither your Majesty expected of us a particular answer to them at this time, nor will take offence at us, if we hold only to that which is the question, in order to the Bill of *Abolition*; for we humbly profess our readiness to serve your Majesty, answering these or any other questions, within our proper *cognizance*, according to the proportion of our mean abilities.

For your Majesties condiscention, in vouchsafing us the liberty and honour of examining your learned Reply, clothed in such excellency of Stile, and for your exceeding candour, shewed to such men as we are; and for the acceptation of our humble duty we render

render to your Majesty most humble thanks, and shall pray, that such a pen in the hand of such abilities, may ever be imployed in a Subject worthy of it.

That your Majesty would please to consider, that in this point under debate, *Sucession* is not the best *clew* and most certaine and ready way to find out the *Original*; for to go that way is to go the furthest way about, yea, *to go backward*; and when you are at the end, that you may seek the *spring*, *viz.* the *Scripture* it selfe, you go to the *Rivers spring*.

And that the Lord would guide your Majesty, and the two Houses of Parliament, by the right hand of his Counsell, and shew you a happy way of healing our unhappy differences, and of setling of the Common wealth of Iesus Christ, which is the Church; so as all the Members thereof, may be under you in all godlinesse, peace and Honesty.

His Majesties *finall Answer concerning Episcopacy*, November the first, 1648.

WHat you have offered by way of reply to his Majesties second paper of October 6. in yours of October 17. in order to the further satisfaction of his conscience in point of Episcopacy, His Majesty heard when it was publickly read by you, with diligent attention, and hath since (so far as his leasure would permit) taken the same into his private and se-

serious Consideration; Wherein his Majesty not only acknowledgeth your great pains and endeavours to inform his Judgement, according to such perswasions as your selves have in the matter in debate; but also taketh speciall notice of the civility of your applications to him both in the Body and Conclusion of your Reply: yet he cannot but observe withall, that in very many things you either mistake his meaning and purpose in that paper, or at least come not up fully enough thereunto in this Reply. Which to have shewn, will sufficiently remonstrate your present Reply to be unsatisfactory in that behalf, without making a particular answer to every passage in it, which to a paper of that length would require more time than his Majesty can think fit (amidst the present weighty affairs) to allow unto a debate of this nature, Especially since his Majesty hath often found mutuall returns of long answers and Replyes, to have rather multiplied disputes by starting new questions, than informing the conscience by removing *former scruples*.

1. *Reply*, Sect. 1. 2. *As to the Scriptures cited in the Margin of his Majesties first paper*. It being granted by you, that those Scriptures did prove the Apostles, and others being single persons to have exercised respectively the severall points in the paper specified, which powers (by your own confessions in this Reply) (*Sect.* 7.) a single person who is but a meer Presbyter hath no right to exercise: And it being withall evident, that a Bishop in the Ecclesiasticall sense, & as distinct from a Presbyter, layeth claim to no more than to a peculiar right in the exercise of some, or all of the said powers, which a meer Presbyter hath not; the Conclusion seemeth naturall and evident, that such a power of Church-Government as we usually call Episcopall is sufficiently proved by those Scriptures.

2. *Reply. Sect.* 3. 5. *As to the Bishops Challenge*, First when

when you speak of a Writ of partition, you seem to take his Majesties words, as if he had shared and cantond out the Episcopal Office, one part to the Bishops alone, another to the Presbyters alone; and you fall upon the same again afterwards (*Sect.* 6.) whereas his Majesties meaning was, and by his words appeareth so to have been, that one part of the Office (*that of teaching, &c*) was common to both alike; but the other part (*that of governing Churches*) to the Bishop alone. Secondly you infer from his Majesties words, 'That 'the Bishops challenge appears to be grown to more 'than was formerly pretended to. Which inference 'his Majesties words by you truly cited, if rightly understood, will not bear. For having proved from Scripture the power of Church-government, in all the three mentioned particulars to have been exercised by the Apostles, and others; his Majesty said but this onely, 'That the Bishops challenge no more, or o-'ther power to belong unto them, in repect of their 'Episcopall Office, than what properly falleth under 'one of these three. The words are true; for he that believeth they challenge not so much, might safely say, they challenge no more. But the inference is not good For he that saith they challenge no more, doth not necessarily imply they challenge all that. In the power of Ordination which is purely spiritual, his Majesty conceiveth the Bishops challenge to have been much-what the same in all times of the Church; And therefore it is, that the matter of Ordination is most insisted on, as the most constant and most evident difference between Bishops & Presbyters, especially after the times of *Constantine*, which his Majesty by your relating to *Chrysostom* & *Hierom* taketh to be the same you call the times of *Grown Episcopacy*. But his Majesty seeth no necessity, that the Bishops challenge to the power of Jurisdiction should be at all times, as large as

as the exercise thereof appeareth at some times to have bin; the exercise thereof being variable according to the various condition of the Church in different times. And therefore his Majesty doth not believe that the Bishops under Christian Princes doe challenge such an amplitude of jurisdiction to belong unto them in respect of their Episcopall Office precisely, as was exercised in the Primitive times by Bishops before the dayes of *Constantine*. The reason of the difference being evident, That in those former times under Pagan Princes the Church was a distinct Body of it self, divided from the Common-wealth, and so was to be governed by its own Rules, and Rulers. The Bishops therefore of those times, though they had no outward coercive power over mens persons or estates, yet inasmuch as every Christian man when he became a Member of the Church, did *ipso facto*, and by that his own voluntary act, put himself under their Government, they exercised a very large power of Jurisdiction in *Spiritualibus*, in making Ecclesiasticall Canons, receiving accusations, conventing the accused, examining witnesses, judging of crimes, excluding such as they found guilty of scandalous offences from the Lords supper, enjoyning penances upon them, casting them out of the Church, receiving them again upon their repentance, &c. And all this they exercised as well over Presbyters as others: But after that the Church under Christian Princes began to be incorporated into the Common-wealth, whereupon there must of necessity follow a complication of the Civil and Ecclesiastical powers, the Jurisdiction of Bishops (in the outward exercise of it) was subordinate unto, and limitable by the Supreme Civill power, and hath been, and is at this day, so acknowleged by the Bishops of this Realm.

Thirdly, you seem to affirm in a parenthesis, as if nothing

nothing were confessed to have been extraordinary in the Apostles but their Gifts, and Enablements onely; whereas his Majesty in that paper hath in expresse words named as Extraordinaries also, the extent of their charge, and the infallibility of their Doctrine, without any meaning to exclude those not named, as their immediate Calling, and if there be any other of like reason.

Fourthly, for the Claim to a *jus Divinum*, His Majesty was willing to decline both the Term (as being by reason of the different acception of it subject to mis-construction) and the dispute whether by Christ or his Apostles. Nevertheless, although his Majesty sees no cause to dislike their opinion, who derive the Episcopall power originally from Christ himself, without whose warrant the Apostles would not either have exercised it themselves, or derived it to others; Yet for that the practice in them is so clear, and evident, and the warrant from him expresst but in general terms (As my Father sent me, so send I you, and the like) His Majesty chose rather (as others have done) to fix the claim of the power upon that practice, as the more evidentiall way, than upon the warrant, which by reason of the generality of expression would bear more dispute.

3. *Reply*, Sect. 6. *As to the definition of Episcopacy.* First, whereas you except against it, for that it is competent to Archiepiscopal and Patriarchal Government as well as Episcopall, his Majesty thinketh you might have excepted more justly against it if it had been otherwise.

Secondly his Majesty believeth, that even in the persons by you named (*Timothy*, *Titus*, and the Angels) the definition in all the parts of it is to be found *viz.* that they had each their several peculiar charges, and that within their severall precincts they had authority over Presbyters as well as others. Neither

Neither thirdly, doth his Majesty think it needfull that any word be added to the *Genus* in the definition, or that the Scripture should any where put all the parts of the definition together; It would be a hard matter to give such a definition of an Apostle, or a Prophet, or an Evangelist, or a Presbyter, or a Deacon, or indeed almost of any thing, as that the parts thereof should be found in any place of Scripture put altogether.

Fourthly, his Majesty consenteth with you, that the point in issue, is not the Name or Work merely, but the Office, and that it were a fallacy to argue a particular Office from a generall or common Work: But judgeth withall it can be no fallacy to argue a particular Office, from such a work as is peculiar to that Office, and is as it were the *formalis ratio* thereof, and therefore no fallacy from a work done by a single person, which a single Presbyter hath no right to do, to infer an Office in that person distinct from the Office of a Presbytr.

4 *Reply*, Sect. 7. *As to the Scriptures cited by you, viz. Tit.* 1. *Acts* 20. 2 *Pet.* 5. First when you say you take his Majesties Concession, That in those times of the Church, and places of Scripture, there was no distinct Office of Bishops and Presbyters; If you take it so, truly you take it *gratis*, (His Majesty never gave it you:) and you mistake it too, more wayes than one, for to speak properly, His Majesty made no Concession at all. It was rather a Preterition in order to the present businesse, and to avoid unnecessary disputes, which ought not to be interpreted as an acknowledgement of the truth of your Expositions of those places. For his own expresse words are, 'Although 'his Majesty be not sure that the proof wil reach so far 'in each of those places, which words plainly evidence that which you call his Majesties Concession to be indeed

deed no concession; but to have been meant according to that form of speech very usual in Disputations, *Dato, non concesso*. But in that Concession, such as it is, his Majesty is not able to imagine what you could find whereon to ground those words, 'That in those times 'of the Church there was no distinct, &c. there being not any thing in the whole passage that carrieth the least sound that way, or that hath relation to any particular times of the Church. Neither is the Concession such as you take it, as it relateth to those places of Scripture. What his Majesty said is confessed on all sides (which are the words you take for a Concession) was but this, That supposing (but not granting) the word Bishop to be used in all those places to signifie a Presbyter, the Office and Work in those places mentioned as the Office & Work of a Bishop are (upon that supposal) the Office and Work of a Presbyter, which is so manifest a truth, that no man without admitting contradictions can say the contrary. But how wide or short that is from what you make to be his Majesties Concession, your selves by comparing his words with yours may easily judge. But your selves a little after make a concession, which his Majesty (warned by your Example how soon anothers meaning may be mistaken when his words are altered) is willing to take in the same words you give it, *viz.* When you say, and you bring reasons also to prove it, That it seemeth manifest, that Ordination and Censures are not to be exercised by a single Presbyter.

2. You repeat your Arguments formerly drawn from those places, and presse the same from the force of the words ποιμαίνειν & ἐπισκοπεῖν, and from the circumstances of the Text, and otherwise adding withall that his Majesty hath waved the notice or answer of some thing by you alleged therein. Hereunto his Majesty saith, that he waved not any thing in your former paper

per, for any great difficultie he conceived of answering it; but being desirous to contract his answer, & knowing to what frailties, Arguments drawn from Names and Words, and conjecturall Expositions of Scripture are subject, he passed by such things as he deemed to be of least consideration in order to the end of the whole debate; to wit the satisfaction of his judgment and conscience in the main businesse. Otherwise his Majesty could have then told you, That there are, who by the like conjectures, grounded (as seems to them) on some *probabilities* in the *text*, interpret those places in the *Acts* & in S. *Peter* of Bishops properly so called, & in the restrained Ecclesiasticall sense, rather than of ordinary Presbyters; That supposing them both meant of ordinary Presbyters, the words ποιμαίνειν and ἐπισκοπεῖν (which signifie to feed and to oversee) might not unfitly be applyed to them as inferiour Pastors, in relation to their flocks under their charge and oversight (the Flock being in both the places expressly mentioned) which hindereth not, but the same words may in a more peculiar manner be appropriated to Bishops in respect of that authority and oversight they have over Presbyters themselves also; That still granting your own interpretation of the word Bishop in that place to *Titus*, it can prove no more than that the two names in that place are given to the same Function: That from all the premises in your paper there laid together, and supposed true, his Majesty doth not conceive it justly proved, That the Office of a Bishop and Presbyter is wholly the same, but at the most, that the Offices were not in those places distinguished by those Names.

Thirdly, if the assignment of any particular Qualification, work or duty, unto a Bishop, distinct from a Presbyter, by the Scripture, would (as you say) put this question neer to an issue; his Majesty should well

well have hoped, that it might soon be brought to a near point, and that from the evidence of the Epistles onely of S. *Paul to Timothy*, Wherein as he particularly expresseth the qualification, work, and duty of Presbyters and Deacons, that *Timothy* might know what persons were fit to be ordained unto those offices: So in the directions given to *Timothy* throughout those Epistles, he sufficiently describeth the qualification, work and duty of a Bishop, that *Timothy* might know how to behave himself in the exercise of his Episcopall Office, as well in ordaining as in governing the Church.

As to the signification of the word *Episcopus*, the primary signification thereof, and the application of it to Church Officers, you acknowledge: and that the same was after by Ecclesiasticall usage appropriated to Bishops you deny not: But the distinction of *Episcopus gregis, & Episcopus pastorum*, you do not allow. If you disallow it for the unfitnesse of the word as may seem by that passage, where you say, that his Majesty hath said, that *Episcopus* signifieth a Keeper of 'Shepherds; His Majesty thinketh you might very well have spared that exception. For if there be a person that hath the oversight of many Shepherds under him, there is no more impropriety in giving such a person, the stile of *Episcopus pastorum*, than there is in using of the word ἀρχιποιμὴν, or in calling *Doeg* the Master of *Sauls* Herdmen. And for the thing it self, it cannot be denied, but that the Apostles, and *Timothy* and *Titus* (by what claim ordinary, or extraordinary, as to the present businesse it matters not) had the oversight and authority over many Pastors, and were therefore truly and really *Episcopi pastorum*.

The appropriation of the names of *Episcopus* and *Presbyter* to these distinct Offices, considering that it was done so early, and received so universally in the Church

Church, as by the writings of *Clemens*, *Ignatius*, the Canons commonly called of the Apostles, and other ancient evidences doth appear. His Majesty hath great reason to believe, that it was done by consent of the primitive Bishops, meerly in honour of the Apostles, out of their respect and reverence to whose persons, and personall prerogatives, they chose to call themselves Bishops, rather than Apostles, in common usage, although they made no scruple to maintain their succession from the Apostles, when they spake of things proper to the Episcopall Function, not to use upon occasion the terms of Apostle and Apostolical in that sense, the truth of all which is to be seen frequently in the writings of the Ancients.

The testimonies of so many writers, ancient and modern, as have been produced for the Scripture-originall of Bishops, his Majesty conceiveth to be of so great importance in a question of this nature, that he thinketh himself bound both in charity & reason to believe, that so many men of such quality would not have asserted the same with so much confidence but upon very good ground. The men respectively of high estimation & reverend authority in the Church, worthily renowned for their learning and piety, of moderate & even passions, of *orthodox* belief, sundry of them uninteressed in the quarrel, and some of them of later times by interest & education byassed rather the other way. Their assertions positive, peremptory, and full of assurances (*constat*, *& nemo ignorat*, it is clear, none can be ignorant, and other such like expressions,) Namely that Christ constituted Bishops in the Apostles; That it was founded upon a divine Law, That *Episcopacy* is θεσις θεϊ, The Ordinance of God; That it seemed good to the *holy Ghost* so to order it, &c. Insomuch as they counted *Aerius* an Heretick for holding the contrary. And this their judgement they delivered as lead thereunto by divine evidence of Scripture (θεϊος λογος διδασκει, Gods word teacheth it, *apertis Scripturæ testimoniis*, It appeareth by plain testimonies of Scripture, *discimus ex hoc loco*, From this place we learn, and the like) which testimonies should they be encountered (as his Majesty doth not yet believe they can be) with a cloud of witnesses to the contrary, for number, and in every other respect equall thereunto; yet should not the authority of their evidence in reason be much lessned thereby: inasmuch as one witnes for the Affirmative ought to be of more value than ten for the Negative; and the testimony of one person that is not interessed, than of an hundred that are.

And whereas you seem in this question to decline this kinde of tryall, because matter of right is properly triable by Scripture; his Majesty conceiveth this present question, in what terms soever proposed, to be yet, in the true stating of it, & in the last resolution, clearly a question of fact, and not of right; For what right soever the Bishops have or pretend to have, must be derived from the fact of *Christ* or his *Apostles*. Which matter of fact if it be not in the most plain *historical manner* that may be related in the Scriptures, but is to be deduced thence by topical remote inferences, and probability of conjectures, the most rationall & proper expedient for the finding out of the right, is to have recourse to the Iudgement, but especially to the practice of the neareſt and subsequent times; according to the received Maxims, *Lex currit cum Praxi, & Consuetudo optimus interpres Legum*. Now he that shall find by all the best *Records* extant, that the *distinction of Bishops* from, & the *superiority over Presbyters* was so universally and speedily spread over the face of the *whole World*, and their *government* submitted unto so *unanimously* by the *Presbyters*, that there never was any *considerable opposition* made there-against before *Aerius* (and that cried

down as an *Heresie*) nor since till this last Age: & shall duly consider withall, that if *Episcopall government* had not an indubitable *institution* from the *authority* of *Christ* and his *Apostles*, or if any *other form of Church-government* could have pretended to such *institution*, had bin the most impossible thing in the world, when there neither was any *outward certaine power to inforce it*, nor could be any *General Councel to establish it*, to have introduced such a form of Government so suddenly and quietly, into all *Christian Churches*, and not the spirit of any one *Presbyter* for ought that appeareth for above three hundred yeares, to have been provoked either through zeal, ambition, or other motive, to stand up in the just defence of their owne and the Churches liberty against such an *usurpation*. His Majesty believeth that whosoever shall consider the *premisses*, together with the Scripture evidences that are brought for that *Government*, will see reason enough to conclude the same to have something of divine institution in it, notwithstanding all the evasions and objections that the subtill wit of man can devise to perswade the contrary. And therefore his Majesty thinketh it fit, plainely to tell you, that such Conjecturall interpretations of Scripture as he hath yet met with in this Argument, how handsomely soever set off, are not Engines of strength enough to remove him from that judgment wherein he hath been setled from his Childhood, and findeth so consonant to the judgment of Antiquity, and to the constant practice of the Christian Church for so many hundred years; which in a matter of this nature ought to weigh more than meer conjecturall inferences from Scripture Texts that are not so attested. Which having now once told you his Majesty thinketh himselfe discharged from the necessity of making so large and particular an Answer to every allegation

gation in the sequell of your reply, as hitherto he hath done.

6. *Reply*, Sect. 9. As to the Apostles Mission and Succession, To make his answer the shorter to so long a discourse, his Majesty declareth, that his meaning was not by distinguishing the Mission and Unction of the Apostles, so to confine them, as if they should relate precisely and exclusively, the one to the office, the other to the abilities, but that they did more especially and eminently so relate: For the Apostles after their last mission, (*Matth.* 28. 19, 20.) whereby they were further warranted to their Office, and Worke, were yet to wait for that promised annointing (*Luke* 24. 49. *Acts* 1. 4.) the speciall effect whereof was the enduing them with Guifts of the Holy Ghost, for the better and more effectuall performing of that their work and Office, nor was it his Majesties meaning to restraine the extraordinaries in the Apostolicall Office to those guifts only, (For his Majesty afterwards in the same paper mentioneth other extraordinaries also, as before is said) but only to instance in those guifts, as one sort of extraordinaries, wherein the Apostles were to have no successors. But his Majesties full meaning was, that the whole Apostolicall Office (setting aside all and only what was personall and extraordinary in them) consisted in the worke of teaching and governing, which being both of necessary and perpetuall use in the Church to the worlds end, the Office therefore was also to continue, and consequently the persons of the Apostles being mortall, to be transmitted and derived to others in succession: And that the Ordinary Successors of the Apostles immediately, and into the whole Office, both of Teaching and Governing, are properly the Bishops, the Presbyters succeeding them also, but in part, and into the Office of Teaching only, and that medi-

mediately and subordinately to the Bishops, by whom they are to be ordained, & authorized thereunto, which his Majesty taketh not to be, as you call it, a dissolving of the Apostolicall Office.

Now the ground of what his Majesty hath said concerning the manner of Succession to the Apostles, that it may appear not to have been said *gratis*, is this, The things which the Scriptures record to have been done by Christ, or his Apostles, or by others at their appointment, are of three sorts, some acts of power merely extraordinary; others acts of an ordinary power, but of necessary and perpetuall use; othersome lastly, and those not a few, Occasionall and Prudentiall, fitted to the present condition of the Church in severall times: To the Apostles in matters of the first sort none pretends succession; nor are either the Examples of what the Apostles themselves did, or the directions that they gave to others what they should doe in matters of the third sort, to be drawn into consequence so far as to be made necessary Rules, binding all succeeding Church-officers in all Times to perpetuall observation. So that there remain the things of the middle sort onely, which we may call Substantials, into which the Apostles are to have ordinary and standing Successors. But then the difference will be, by what certain marks, Extraordinaries, Substantials and Prudentials may be known, and distinguished each from other. Evident it is, the Scriptures do not afford any particular discriminating Characters whereby to discern them, the acts of all the three sorts being related in the like narrative forms, and the directions of all the three sorts expressed in the like preceptive forms. Recourse therefore must of necessity be had to those two more generall Criterians [the Laws of all humane actions] Reason and Common Vsage. Our own Reason will tell us, that instructing

ing the people of God in the Christian Faith, exhorting them to Piety, and good Works, administring the Sacraments, &c. which belong to the Office of teaching: That ordaining of Ministers, Inspection over their lives, and Doctrines, and other Administrations of Ecclesiasticall affairs belonging to the Office of Governing, are matters of great importance, and necessary concernment to the Churches in all Ages and Times, and therefore were to be concredited to standing Officers in a Line of Succession, and accordingly were judged, and the continuance of them preserved in the constant usage of the Churches of Christ: But that on the other side the decrees concerning Abstinence from Bloud, and strangled, *Acts* the 15. The directions given for the ordering some things in the Church Assemblies, 1 *Cor.* 14. For making provisions for the poor, 1 *Cor.* 16.1. For the choice and maintenance of Widowes, 1 *Tim.* 5. For the enoyling of the sick, *James* 5.14. and other like, were but occasionall, prudential, and temporary, and were so esteemed by the Churches, and the practice of them accordingly laid aside. So for the succession into the Apostolicall Office, wee find in the Scriptures evidence clear enough, that the Apostles committed to others, as namely to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the power both of teaching and governing the Churches. And common Reason and Prudence dictating to us, that it is good for the edifying of the Church, that there should be many Teachers within a competent Precinct, but not so that there should be many Governours; And the difference of Bishops and Presbyters to the purposes aforesaid, having been by continuall usage received, and preserved in the Christian Church, down from the Apostles to the present times; his Majesty conceiveth the succession of Bishops to the Apostles, into so much of their Office as was ordinary and perpetuall; and such a distinction of Bishops and Presbyters as his Majesty hath formerly

ly expressed, needeth no further confirmation from Scripture (to such as are willing to make use of their Reason also. which in interpreting Scripture upon all other occasions they are enforced to do) nor any thing by you produced in this Paragraph, any further answer; onely that distinction of Eminently and Formally, because you illustrate it by instancing in Himself, his Majesty could not but take notice of, which he either understandeth not, or thinketh your illustration thereof not to be very apposite: For Actions and Operations flow from the Forms of things, and demonstrate the same as effects doe their causes. The Apostles therefore acting in the ordinary exercise of Church Government, did act not Eminently only, but Formally also, as Bishops rather than Apostles.

As concerning Timothy and Titus.

7. *Reply. Sect.* 10. 15. First, whether there were Evangelists or no, his Majesty never meant to dispute. Onely, because you often call for Scripture proofe, his Majesty thought fit to admonish you, that in your Answer you take two things for granted (*viz.* that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Evangelists, and that Evangelists were such Officers as you described) Neither of which if it should be denyed, you could clearly prove from Scripture alone, without calling in the help of other Writers to attest it, as in your Reply you have now done Mr. *Hookers*; Neither have you indeed brought any thing in this Reply out of Scripture to prove either of both sufficient to convince him that were of a contrary minde.

Secondly, you seem (Sect. 12.) to mistake that which was the third point in that part of his Majesties paper, which was not whether *Timothy* and *Titus* were Evangelists, or no; (concerning which his Majesty neither did, nor doth contend) But whether in the Church

Church government they exercised, they acted as Evangelists (as you affirme) and so onely as extraordinary Officers, or not? *Zuinglius* (having said that the name of a Bishop and Evangelist is the same thing) proveth it from 2 *Tim.* 4. and concludeth. *Constat idem fuisse officium utriusq*: Bishop and Evangelist the same Office both. *Gerrard* saith, the word Evangelist in that place is taken generally, and not in the speciall sense; that is to say, for a Minister of the Gospell at large (and the Context there indeed seemeth to import no more) and not for an Evangelist by peculiar Office. And *Scultetus* not onely affirmeth, That S. *Paul* appointed *Timothy* and *Titus* to *Ephesus* and *Creet*, not as Evangelists, but as Church-governours; but saith further, That the Epistles written to them both doe evince it, and also bringeth Reasons to prove it. Upon what particular reasons *Gillespy*, &c. reject the conceit of their acting as Evangelists, his Majesty certainly knowes not: But if this be one of their Arguments (as to their best remembrance from whom his Majesty had the information, it is) That *if whatsoever is alleged from the Scripture to have been done by the Apostles, and by Timothy and Titus, in point of Ordination, Discipline and Government, may be eluded by this, that they acted therein as extraordinary Officers, There will be no proof at all from Scripture of any power left in any ordinary Church-Officer to the purposes aforesaid.* His Majesty then recommendeth to your most sober thoughts to consider, First, how this conceit of their acting as extraordinary Ministers onely, tends to the subversion of all Ministers, as well as of the Bishops (since upon this very ground especially, the *Socinians* deny all Mission and Ordination of the Ministers in the Church.) And secondly if the contrary be proved by *Gillespy*, &c. by good Arguments, That they acted as ordinary Officers in the Church, then, Whether they

they have not thereby laid a better foundation for the claim of Bishops, *viz.* of governing the Churches as single persons in ordinary Office) than either they or you are willing to acknowledge.

Thirdly, his Majesty thinketh it a great liberty which you take in rendring the sense of his Reply, as you have done, *viz.* '*The Scriptures never call them Bishops but the Fathers do*: whereas if you had followed his sense in that paper, you might rather have delivered thus, The Scripture describeth them as Bishops, and the Fathers call them so. For that of yours, '*The Scripture cals Timothy an Evangelist, some of late have refuted it, and rejected it with scorn*: You should have said rather, The Scripture doth not any where affirm of *Titus*, nor clearly prove of *Timothy*, that they were (by peculiar Office) Evangelists; but that in governing the Churches they acted as Evangelists, or extraordinary Officers, is by sundry late Writers (the evasion it selfe having been out of late minted) refuted, and rejected. For that of yours, '*The Scripture relates their motion from Church to Church, but some affirm them to be fixed at Ephesus and in Creet*: It should have been, Neither doth their motion from Church to Church hinder, but they might afterwards be fixed at *Ephesus* and in *Creet*: Neither doth their being Bishops at *Ephesus* and *Creet* hinder, but they might afterwards, for propagation of the Gospel, be by the Apostles appointment often imployed otherwhere. For that of yours, '*The Scripture makes distinction of Evangelists and Pastors, but some say that Timothy and Titus were both*: It should have been, The Scripture maketh no such distinction of Evangelists and Pastors, but that the same persons might not only successively be both, but even at the same time also be called by both Names.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, Though you say, *You do not undervalue the Testimonies and Catalogues mentioned*, yet you endeavour (which commeth not far short of undervaluing) to lessen the reputation of both but too much, of those testimonies by putting them off, as if when they report *Timothy* and *Titus* and others to have been Bishops, they speak but vulgarly, or by way of allusion, and not exactly as to the point in debate. But of *Hierom*, upon whom you chiefly relye in this Cause, the contrary is evident, who in this catalogue of Ecclesiasticall Writers, wherein he was to deliver things *Fide Historica*, and to describe the persons of such as are registred in that catalogue by their proepr and known distinctive Titles and Stiles, he expressly stileth *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Mark*, *Policarp*, and others, Bishops of such and such places; and such on the other-side as were but meer Presbyters, *Ecclesiæ Antiochenæ*, or *Alexandriæ Presbyter*, &c. observing the difference so constantly and exactly throughout the whole book, that nothing can be more clear, than that he understood the word *Episcopus* no otherwise, than in the Ordinary Ecclesiasticall sense, and as a Bishop is distinct from a Presbyter. As for that passage you allege out of him, by custom in the judgment of learned men, he must mean the practice of the Apostolick times; and by *Dominica dispositio*, the expresse precept of Christ, unlesse you would have him contradict what himselfe hath written in sundry other places; Whose Testimonies in the behalfe of Episcopal superiority, are so clear and frequent in his Writings, that (although he of all the Ancients be least suspected to favour that Function over-much) yet the Bishops would not refuse to make him *Arbitrator* in the whole businesse: as for the Catalogues, there will be more convenient place to speak of them afterwards.

Fifthly, your long discourse concerning the severall sta-

station: and removes of *Timothy* and *Titus* (13. 14.) and their being called away from *Ephesus* and *Creet* (15.) His Majesty neither hath time to examine, nor thinketh it much needfull (in respect of what he hath said already) so to do. It is sufficient to make his Majesty at least suspend his assent to your conjectures and inferences: First, that he findeth other learned men, from the like conjectures to have made other inferences; as namely, that *Timothy* and *Titus* having accompanied *Paul* in many journeys, *Postea & tandem*, were by him constituted Bishops of *Ephesus* and *Creet*. Secondly, that supposing they were, after the times of the severall Epistles written to them, sent by the Apostles to other places, or did accompany them in some of their journeys, even for a long time together, it cannot be concluded thence, that they were not then Bishops of those Churches, or that the Government of those Churches was not committed to their peculiar charge: If it be supposed withall (which is most reasonable) that their absence was commanded by the Apostle, and that they left their Churches *cum animo revertendi*. Thirdly, that the places which you presse again of 1 *Tim.* 1 3. and *Titus* 1.5. weigh so little to the purpose intended by you, even in your owne judgements (for you say onely, *They put fair to prove it*) that you cannot expect they should weigh so much in his, as to need any further Answer; save onely, that his Majesty knoweth not what great need or use there should be of leaving *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, or *Titus* in *Creet*, for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, with such particular directions and admonitions to them for their care therein, if they were not sent thither as Bishops: For either there were Colleges of Presbyters in those places before their comming thither, or there were not; if there were, and that such Colleges had power

er to ordain Presbyters and Deacons without a Bishop; Then was there little need of sending *Timothy* and *Titus* so solemnly thither about the worke; if there were none, then had *Timothy* and *Titus* power of sole ordination, which is a thing by you very much disliked. Those inconveniences his Majesty thinketh it will be hard wholly to avoid upon your Principles.

That Discourse you conclude with this Observation, *That in the same very Epistle to* Timothy, *out of which he is endeavoured to be proved a Bishishop, there is clear evidence both for Presbyters imposing hands in Ordination, and for their Ruling*: Yet his Majesty presumeth you cannot be ignorant, that the evidence is not so clear in either particular, but that in the former very many of the Latine Fathers especially, and sundry later Writers, as *Calvin* and others, refer the word συμπρεσβυτερίου to the remoter Substantive Grace or Gift, and not to that of Imposition of hands; and so understand it as meant of the Office of Presbytery, or as wee were wont to call it in English by derivation from that Greek word of *Priesthood* in *Timothy* himself, and not a College or Company of Presbyters collectively imposing hands on him: And that the Greek Fathers, who take the word collectively, do yet understand by συμπρεσβυτερίου there, a company of Apostles or Bishops who laid hands on *Timothy* in his Ordination to the Office of a Bishop (as was ordinarily done by three joyning in that Act in the Primitive and succeeding times) and not of a College of meer Presbyters. And that in the latter particular, to wit, that of *Ruling*, The place whereon his Majesty conceiveth your Observation to bee grounded hath been by the Adversaries of Episcopall Government generally and mainly insisted upon, as the onely cleare proof for the establishing of *Ruling-Lay Elders*, which inte-

interpretation his Majesty knoweth not how far you will admit of.

As to the Angels of the Churches.

Reply. 16. 17. HIs Majesties purpose of naming these Angels in his first Paper, sufficiently declared in his second, required no more to be granted for the proving of what he intended, but these two things onely: first, that they were *personæ singulares*; and then that they had a superiority in their respective Churches, aswell over Presbyters as others, which two being the *Periphrasis* or definition of a Bishop, his Majesty conceived it would follow of it self, That they were Bishops: That the Epistles directed to them in the respective Reproofs, Precepts, Threatnings, and other the contents thereof, did concerne their fellow Presbyters also, and indeed the whole Churches (which in your last you again remember) his Majesty did then and doth still believe, finding it agreeable both to the tenor of the Epistles themselves, and to the consentient judgement of Interpreters. Onely his Majesty said, and still doth, That that hindreth not, but that the Angels to whom the Epistles were directed, were *personæ singulares* still: This his Majesty illustrated by a Similitude, which though it doe not hold in some other respects, and namely those by you observed (for his Majesty never dreamt of a four-footed Similitude) yet it perfectly illustrates the thing it was then intended for, as is evident enough, so that there needeth no more to be said about it.

That which you insist upon to prove the contrary from *Revel.* 2. 24. *But I say to you* (ὑμῖν plurally) *and to the rest in Thyatira*, is plainly of no force, if those Copies in which the copulative conjunction is wanting, be true; for then the reading would be this, *But I say*

to you the rest in Thyatira: But following the ordinary Copies, the difficultie is not great, such manner of Apostraphes by changing the number, or turning the speech to another person, being very usuall both in prophetick Writings, such as this Book of *Revelation* is, and in Epistles of this nature written to one; but with reference to many others therein concerned. *Beza* expoundeth it, ὑμῖν, *to you*, (that is, the Angel as President, and his colleagues the other Presbyters) *and to the rest*, that is, to the whole flock or People; which manner of speaking might be illustrated by the like forms of speech to be used in a Letter written to a Corporation, wherein the Major and Aldermen especially, but yet the whole Town generally were concerned, but directed to the Major alone; or from a Lord, containing some Orders for his own household especially, and generally for the whole Township, but by Inscription directed to his Steward onely, or the like.

The consent of Antient and later Writers was produced by his Majesty for the proofe of the two things before named onely, but especially of the first, *viz.* That the Angels were *personæ singulares*: (For the latter, *viz.* That they were superiour to Presbyters also, had been confessed by your selves in your first grant before) but was not produced to prove the conclusion it self immediately, *viz.* That they were Bishops in distinct sense, although sundry of their Testimonies come up even to that also. But to the first point, That they were single persons, the concurrence is so generall, that his Majesty remembreth not to have heard of any one single Interpreter, before *Brightman*, that ever expounded them otherwise. And yet the same man (as his Majesty is informed) in his whole Commentary upon the *Revelation*, doth scarce, if at all, any where else, save in these Seven Epistles, expound

pound the word *Angel* collectively, but still of one single person or other, insomuch as he maketh one Angel to be *Gregory* the Great, another Queen *Elizabeth*, another *Cranmer*, another *Chemnitius*, and the like: but generally both the Fathers and Protestant Divines agree in this, That the Angel was a single person, some affirming plainly, and that *in termini*, he was the Bishop; some naming the very persons of some of them, as of *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, and others; some calling him the chief Pastor or Superintendent of that Church; and those that speake least, and were more or lesse disaffected to Bishops, as *Beza*, Doctor *Reynolds*, the *Geneva Notes*, and even *Carturight* himself, the κατ' ἐξοχὴν President or chief among the Presbyters. And this they doe sundry of them, not crudely delivering their Opinions onely, and then no more, but they give Reasons for it, and after examination of the severall Opinions prefer this before the rest, affirming, That *Doctissimi quique interpretes*; all the best learned Interpreters so understand it, and that they cannot understand it otherwise, *Vim nisi facere Textui velint*, unlesse they will offer violence to the Text.

That which his Majesty said concerning the Subdivision of those that had divided themselves from the common judgement of this Church, was meant by his Majesty, as to the Subdivision in respect of this particular of the Angels, wherein they differ one from another, and not as to the division in respect of their dislike of Bishops, wherein they all agree: And truly his Majesty doth not yet see, how either their differences can be possibly reconciled in the former (no accomodation in the World being able to make all the people of the whole Church, nor yet a College consisting of many Presbyters, to bee one single person) or their recesse wholly excused in the latter, their dissenting from the common and received judgement, practise of the Christian Church, in the matter of Episcopacy, and the evill consequents thereof, having in his Majesties opinion, brought a greater reproach upon the Protestant Religion, and given more advantage (or colour at least) to the Romish party, to asperse the Reformed Churches in such sort as we see they do, than their disagreement from the Church of *Rome* in any one controverted point whatsoever besides hath done.

As to the Apostles Successours.

9. *Reply*, 17. 18. HEre little is said, the substance whereof hath not been answered before; His Majestie therefore briefly declares his meaning herein, That the Apostles were to have no necessary Successors in any thing that was extraordinary either in their Mission or Vnction; that his Majesty spake not of Succession into abilities otherwise than by instance, mentioning other particulars withall; which thing he thinketh needeth not to have been now the third time by you mentioned; That in the Apostles Mission or Commission (for his Majesty under the name of Mision comprehendeth both) and consequently in the Apostolicall Office, as there was something extraordinary, so there was something ordinary wherein they were to have Successours; That Bishops are properly their Successours, in the whole Apostolicall Office, so far as it was ordinary, and to have Successours; That therefore the Bishops Office may in regard of that succesion, be said to be Apostolicall; That yet it doth not follow that they must needs be called Apostles, taking the denomination from the Office, in as much as the denomination of the Apostles, peculiarly so called, was not given them from the

the Office whereunto they were sent, but (as the word it self rather importeth) from the immediateneſſe of their Miſſion, being ſent immediately by Chriſt himſelfe; in reſpect whereof for diſtinction ſake, and in honour to their perſons, it was thought fitter by thoſe that ſuceeded, in common uſage, to abſtain from that Denomination, and to be ſtiled rather by the name of Biſhops; That if the Apoſtles had no Succeſſours, the Presbyters (who are their Succeſſours in part, immediately and ſubordinately to the Biſhops) will be very hard ſet to prove the warrant of their own Office and Miſſion; which if not derived from the Apoſtles (who onely received power of Miſſion from Chriſt) by a continued line of Succeſſion, his Majeſty ſeeth not upon what other bottom it can ſtand.

As to the ſtanding Officers of the Church.

To *Reply*, You inſiſted upon two places of Scripture, *Phil.* 1. 1. and 1 *Tim.* 3. 19,20. to prove that there were to be no more ſtanding Officers in the Church, than the two in thoſe places mentioned, (*viz.*) Presbyters (who are there called Biſhops) and Deacons; whereunto his Majeſties anſwer was, *That there might be other though not mentioned in thoſe places:* which Anſwer, though it were alone ſufficient, yet *ex abundanti*, his Majeſty ſhewed withall, that ſuppoſing your interpretation of the word Biſhop in both the places (*viz.* to denote the Office of Presbyter onely) there might yet be given ſome probable conjectures, which (likewiſe ſuppoſed true) might ſatisfie us, why that of Biſhop in the diſtinct ſenſe, ſhould not not be needful or proper to be named in thoſe places.

His Majeſties former Reaſon, though in *Hypotheſi*, and as applyed to the Church of *Philippi*, it be but conjecturall, yet upon the credit of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories and conſideration of the condition of thoſe

times, as it is ſet forth in the Scriptures alſo, it will appear in *Theſi*, to be undoubtedly true, (*viz.*) That the Apoſtles themſelves firſt planted Churches; that they were perpetuall Governours and chief of all the Churches whileſt they lived; that as the burthen grew greater by the propagation of the Goſpell, they aſſumed others in *partem curæ*, committing to their charge the peculiar overſight of the Churches in ſome principall Cities and the Towns and Villages adjacent, as *Iames* at *Ieruſalem*, and others in other places, ſooner or later, as they ſaw it expedient for the ſervice of the Church: That the perſons ſo by them appointed, to ſuch peculiar charges, did exerciſe the powers of Ordination and other Government under the Apoſtles, and are therefore in the Church-ſtories called Biſhops of thoſe places in a diſtinct ſenſe; That in ſome places where the Apoſtles were themſelves more frequently converſant, they did for ſome while govern the Churches immediately by themſelves, before they ſet Biſhops there; and that after the Apoſtles times, Biſhops only were the ordinary Governours of the Churches of Chriſt: And his Majeſty believeth it cannot be proved either from cleare evidence of Scripture, or credible teſtimonies of Antiquity, that ever any Presbyter or Presbytery exerciſed the power either of Ordination at all without a Biſhop, or of that which they call Eccleſiaſticall Iuriſdiction in ordinary and by their owne ſole Authority, or otherwiſe, than as it was delegated unto them upon occaſion, and for the time by Apoſtles and Biſhops.

For that place of *Phil.* 1.1. in particular, his Majeſties purpoſe being, not to interpret the place (a work fit for Divines) but to manifeſt the inconſequence of the Argument, whereby you would conclude but two ſtanding Officers only, becauſe but two there

there named, gave this as one probable conjecture why there might be no Bishops in distinct sense there mentioned, because possibly the Apostles had not as yet set any Bishops over the Church, which his Majesty did not propose as the only, no, nor yet as the most probable conjecture (for which cause He delivered it so cautiously, saying only it might be probable) but as that which for the present came first into his thoughts, and was sufficient for his purpose, without the least meaning thereby to prejudice other interpretations; as namely, of those Expositors who take the words (with the Bishops and Deacons) as belonging to the persons saluting, and not to be persons saluted; to this sense, *Paul* and *Timotheus* the servants of Jesus Christ, with the Bishops and Deacons, to the Saints at *Philippi*, &c. or of those who affirm, and that with great probability too, That *Epathroditus* was then actually Bishop of *Philippi*, but not to be mentioned in the inscription of the Epistle, because he was not then at *Philippi*, but with St. *Paul* at *Rome* when the Epistle was written: Any of which conjectures, if they be true (as there is none of them utterly improbable) that place of *Phil.* 1. 1. will not do you much service in this Question.

In the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the Apostle directeth and admonisheth them as Bishops, particularly concerning Ordination of Ministers, that they do it advisedly, and Ordaine none but such as are meetly qualified for the service of the Church; which directions and admonitions his Majesty believeth for the substance to belong to all of after-times, as well as unto them: But his Majesty seeth no necessity why in those Epistles there should be any particular directions given concerning the Ordination of Bishops, at least unless it could be made appear, That they were to Ordain some such in those places, nor perhaps if that could be made to

to appear, in as much as in those Epistles there is not the least signification of any difference at all between Presbyters and Deacons in the manner of their Ordination, both being to be performed by the Bishop, and by imposition of hands, and so both comprehended under that generall rule (*Lay hands suddenly on no man*) but only, and that very little, and scarce considerable (as to the making of distinct Offices) in the qualification of their persons.

The Ordination therefore of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, being to be performed in the same manner; and the same qualifications after a sort, saving such differences as the importance of their severall Offices make (which is more in the degree than in the things) being required in both, it had been sufficient if in those Epistles there had been directions given concerning the Ordination and Qualification of but one sort of Church-Officers only; as in the Epistle to *Titus* we see there are of Presbyters only, and no mention made of Deacons in the whole Epistle: whence it may be as well concluded, that there was to be no other standing Officer in the Church of *Creet*, but Presbyters only, because St. *Paul* giveth no directions to *Titus* concerning any other, as it can be concluded, that there were to be no other Officers in the Church of *Ephesus*, but Presbyters and Deacons only, because St. *Paul* giveth no directions to *Timothy* concerning any other.

As to the Ages succeeding the Apostles.

11. *Reply*, 23, 27. Concerning the Judgment of Ecclesiasticall Writers about the Divine Right of Episcopacy, his Majesty conceiveth the difference to be more in their Expressions than in their Meaning, some calling it *Divine*, others *Apostolicall*, and some (but not many) *Ecclesiasticall*; but that [illegible] riority of Bishops

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above Presbyters began in the Apostles times, and had its foundation in the Institution either of Christ himself or of his Apostles, his Majesty hath not heard (*Aerius* excepted) that any till these latter Ages have denied.

For that which you touch upon concerning the word *Infallible*, his Majesty supposeth you knew his meaning, and he delighteth not to contend about words.

As for the *Catalogues* some uncertainties in a few (a frailty which all humane Histories are subject to) his Majesty taketh to be insufficient to discredit all difference; there are in Historiographers, in reciting the succession of the *Babylonian*, *Persian*, and *Macedonian* Kings, and of the *Saxon* Kings in *England*: And wee find far more inextricable intricacies in the *Fasti Consulares*, the Catalogues of the *Roman* Consuls (notwithstanding the great care in keeping the publick Records, and the exactnesse of the *Roman* Histories) than are to be found in Episcopall Catalogues, those especially of the chiefest Cities, as *Ierusalem*, *Rome*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Ephesus*, &c. yet as all men believe there were Kings in those Countries, and Consuls in *Rome* in those times, so (as you might well foresee would be answered) the discrediting of the Catalogues of Bishops, in respect of some uncertainties (although his Majesty doubteth not but many of the differences you instance in, may be fairely reconciled) tendeth rather to the confirming of the thing it selfe.

That which you say in answer hereunto, That the Ecclesiasticall Writers called them Bishops, in complyance to the Language of their owne times, after the names of Presbyters and Bishops were distinguished, but that they were not indeed Bishops in the proper sense now in question; his Majesty who believeth the di-

stinction of those names to have begun presently after the Apostles times (if not rather whilst some of them were living) doth consequently believe, that as they were called so, they were indeed Bishops in that proper sense. It appeareth by *Ignatius* his Epistles every where, how wide the difference was in his time between a Bishop and a meer Presbyter: If *Hierom* only, and some a little Ancienter than he, had applyed the name Bishop to persons that lived some ages before them, there might have been the more colour to have attributed it to such a complyance as you speak of, but that they received both the name and the truth of their Relations from unquestionable Testimonies and Records, his Majesty thinketh it may be made good by many instances: for example, to instance in one only, *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, who is thought to be the Angell of that Church in the *Revelation*; *Ignatius*, who was contemporary with him, wrote one Epistle to him, and sends salutation to him in another as Bishop of *Smyrna*; Many years after *Irenæus* Bishop of *Lyons* in *France*, (whose writings were never yet called in question by any) not onely affirms him to have been constituted Bishop of *Smyrna* by the Apostles, but saith, *That he himself when he was a Boy had seen him an old Man*; *Tertullian* next, a very ancient writer affirmeth, *That he was Bishop of Smyrna, there Placed by S. Iohn.* After commeth *Eusebius*, who in his Ecclesiasticall History, not only historically reporteth of his being Bishop there, as he doth of other Bishops, but citeth also for it the Testimonies both of *Ignatius* and *Irenæus* (which by the way giveth good credit to *Ignatius* his Epistles too.) Then *Hierom* also and others lastly attest the same. And it cannot be doubted, but *Eusebius* and *Hierom* had in their times the like certaine Testimonies and Grounds for sundry others, whom they report to have been Bishops; which

Testimonies and Records are not all come to our hands.

For the Testimonies of *Clemens* and *Ignatius*, his Majesty saith; First, that though it be not Reasonable that the Testimony of one single Epistle should be so made the adequate measure of *Clemens* his Opinion, as to exclude all other proofs from his Example, or otherwise, yet his Majesty, since *Clemens* was first named by you, and the weight of the maine Cause lieth not much upon it, is content also for that matter to refer himselfe to that Epistle. Secondly, That his Majesty could not but use some earnestnesse of expression in the cause of *Ignatius* against some who have rejected the whole Volume of his Epistles, but upon such Arguments as have more lessned the reputation of their own learning, than the Authority of those Epistles in the opinion of moderate and judicious men: And yet *Blendellus*, a very learned man, though he rejected those Epistles, confesseth notwithstanding the Ancient Fathers gave full credence thereunto.

The Apostles, you say, *did not ordain themselves Bishops of any particular places; and yet the Bishops of some particulars place are reported in the Catalogues to have been successors to such or such of the Apostles, and even the Names of such Apostles are entred into the Catalogues*: To this his Majesty saith, that the Apostles were formally Bishops by vertue of their Mission from Christ, as hath been already declared, but did neither ordaine themselves, nor could be ordained by others, Bishops of such or such particular Cities: Although his Majesty knoweth not, but that they might, without prejudice to their Apostleship, and by mutuall consent, make choice of their Severall quarters wherein to exercise that function, as well as Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul* by consent went the one to the Circumcision

sion, the other to the Gentiles: But such apportionments did not entitle them to be properly called Bishops of those places, unlesse any of them by such Agreement did fixedly reside in some City; of which there is not in the history of the Church any clear unquestionable example: If that JAMES the Lords Brother (who was certainly Bishop of JERVSALEM) were not one of the twelve Apostles, as the more generall opinion is that he was not, yet did the Churches of succeeding times, for the greater honour of their Sees, and the memory of so great Benefactors, enter in the head of the Lists or Catalogues of their Bishops, the Names of such Apostles as had either first planted the Faith, or placed Bishops, or made any long abode and continuance, or ended their dayes among them; yet doth not the true Title of being Successors to the Apostles thereby accrew to the Bishops of those places, more than to other Bishops, but all Bishops are equally Successors to the Apostles in two other respects; The one, for that they derive their Ordination by a continuall line of Succession from the Apostles: The other, for that they succeed into the same Apostolicall power and function, which the Apostles as ordinary Pastors had.

Your motion to reduce this whole dispute to Scripture alone, were the more reasonable, if the matter in question were properly a poynt of Faith: And yet even in poynts of Faith (as the Doctrine of the Trinity, the Canon of Scripture, and sundry other) the uniform judgment of the Church hath been ever held of very considerable regard; but being a matter of Fact, as before was said, which the Scriptures do not deliver entirely and perspicuously in any one place together, but obscurely, and by parts, so that the understanding thereof dependeth meerly

upon conjecturall interpretations, and uncertain probabilities; nor assure any certain distinguishing Characters, whereby to discerne what therein is extraordinary, what prudentiall, and what of necessary and perpetual Obligation, there seemeth to his Majesty to be a necessity of admitting the subsequent judgment and practice of the Christian Churches into the Tryall.

As to the three Questions proposed by his Majesty.

12. 29, &c. *Reply,* HIs MAJESTY resteth very much unsatisfied, that you have now againe wholly declined the answering of those three Questions so clearly proposed by him, which your selves also confesse to be of great importance, upon this only pretence, *That the whole volume of Ecclesiasticall Policy is contained in them*: Whereas his Majesty did neither expect nor require from you any large or Polemicall Discourse concerning those Questions: but yet did conceive you were (in order to his satisfaction and your own undertaking) in some sort obliged to have declared in few words what your Judgment was therein, with the grounds thereof, that so his Majesty might have taken the same into his further consideration, than which nothing could have more conduced to the informing of his judgment, and the satisfaction of his Conscience; which his Majesty also further conceives you might have done, with the tenth part of that pains you have hitherto bestowed to other purpose, and therein have given full as much satisfaction to his desires, as he expected, and in all likelyhood better satisfaction to his judgment than he yet findeth or can hope to find from you, so long as you hold off from declaring your opinions concerning those Questions: For certainly, untill one of these three things can be clearly evidenced unto his

his Majesty (*viz.*) Either that there is no certaine form of Church Government at all prescribed in the Word, or if there be, that the Civill power may change the same as they see cause; or if it be unchangeable, that it was not Episcopall, but some other, his Majesty thinks himselfe excusable in the judgment of all reasonable men, if he cannot as yet be induced to give his consent to the utter abolishing of that Government in the Church, which he found here setled to his hands, which hath continued all over the Christian World, from the times of the Apostles, unitll this last age, and in this Realm ever since the first plantation of Christianity, as well since the Reformation as before, which hath been confirmed by so many Acts of Parliament, approved as consonant to the Holy Word of God, in the Articles of our Religion, and by all the Ministers of the Church of ENGLAND, as well by their Personall subscriptions, as otherwise, so attested and declared, and which himselfe in his judgment and Conscience, hath for these many yeares been, and yet is perswaded to be at least of Apostolicall Institution and practice: Truly his Majesty cannot but wonder what should be the reason of your great shinesse and unwillingnesse to discover your minds in a matter of so great and necessary consequence: and for a finall conclusion of this whole dispute (which his Majesty thinketh fit to shut up with this Paper) he must plainly tell you, that your endeavours to have given him satisfaction in the questions proposed, would have added much in his opinion to the reputation of their ingenuity in the whole undertaking; it being not probable you should worke much upon his Judgment, whilst you are fearfull to declare your own, nor possible to relieve his Conscience, but by a free declaring of yours.

Nevertheless, his Majesty liketh well of your prayer

er in the close of your Paper, and thinketh you should do very well to joyn therewith your utmost possible endeavors towards the setling of Truth, and a happy Peace in this unsetled Church and Kingdom.

His MAJESTIES Quære concerning *EASTER*, propounded to the Parliaments Commissioners at *Holmby*, April 23. 1647.

I desire to be resolved of this Question, *Why the new Reformers discharge the keeping of Easter?*

The Reason for this *Quære* is,

I Conceive the Celebration of this Feast was instituted by the same authority, which changed the Iewish Sabbath into the Lords Day or Sunday; for it will not be found in Scripture where Saturday is discharged to be kept, or turned into the Sunday; wherefore it must be the Churches authority that changed the one, and instituted the other; Therefore My opinion is, that those who will not keep this Feast, may as well return to the observation of Saturday, and refuse the weekly Sunday: when any body can shew Me that herein I am in an errour, I shall not be ashamed to confesse and amend it. Till when you know My minde.

C. R.

Diverse

Diverse of His MAJESTIES Prayers: Whereof the three last, used by Him in the time of His Restraint, were delivered to the Bishop of *London* at His Death, from whom they were taken away by the Officers of the Army.

1. *A Prayer used by his Majesty, at his entrance in State into the Cathedral Church of* Exceter, *after he had defeated the Earle of* Essex *his Forces in* Cornwall.

OMost glorious Lord God, Father, Son, and holy Ghost, I here humbly adore Thy most Sacred Majesty; and I blesse and magnifie thy Name, for that thou hast been pleased so often, and so strangely to deliver Me from the strivings of My people. Father forgive them who have thus risen up against Me, and do thou yet turn their hearts both unto Thee and to Me; that I being firmly established in the Throne Thou hast placed Me on, I may defend Thy Church committed to My care, and keep all this Thine and My people in Truth and Peace, through Iesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

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2. *A Prayer drawn by His Majesties speciall Direction and Dictate, for a blessing on the Treaty at* Vxbridge.

OMost mercifull Father, Lord God of Peace and Truth, we a people sorely afflicted by the scourge of an unnatutall War, do here earnestly beseech Thee, to command a blessing from Heaven upon this present Treaty,

Treaty, begun for the establishment of a happy peace. Soften the most obdurate hearts with a true Christian desire of saving those mens blood, for whom Christ himselfe hath shed his. Or if the guilt of our great sins cause this Treaty to break off in vaine, Lord let the Truth clearly appear, who those men are, which under pretence of the publick good, do pursue their own private ends; that this people may be no longer so blindly miserable, as not to see, at least in this their Day, the things that belong unto their peace. Grant this gracious God, for his sake who is our peace it self, even Iesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

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3. *A Prayer drawne by His Majesties speciall directions, for a blessing on the Treaty at* Newport *in the Isle of* Wight.

O Most mercifull Father, Lord God of Peace and Truth, we a people sorely afflicted by the scourge of an unnaturall War, do here earnestly beseech thee to command a blessing from Heaven upon this Treaty, brought about by thy providence, and the only visible remedy left for the establishment of an happy Peace. Soften the most obdurate hearts, with a true Christian desire of saving those mens blood, for whom Christ himself hath shed his. O Lord let not the guilt of our sins cause this Treaty to break off, but let the truth of thy Spirit so clearly shine in our mindes, that all private ends laid aside, we may every one of us heartily and sincerely pursue the publick good, and that thy people may be no longer so blindly miserable as not to see at least in this their day the things that belong unto their peace. Grant this gracious God for his sake who is our peace it self, even Iesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

4. *A Prayer for Pardon of sins.*

ALmighty and most mercifull Father, look down upon Me Thy unworthy servant, who here prostrate My Self at the Foot-stool of Thy Throne of Grace; but look upon Me, O Father, through the Mediation, and in the Merits of Iesus Christ, in whom Thou art onely well-pleased; for, of My self I am not worthy to stand before thee, or to speak with My unclean lips to Thee, most holy and eternall God! For as in sin I was conceived and born, so likewise I have broken all thy Commandments by My sinfull motions, unclean thoughts, evil words, and wicked works, omitting many Duties I ought to do, and committing many Vices which Thou hast forbidden, under pain of thy heavy displeasure: As for My sins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I stand here liable to all the miseries in this life, and everlasting torments in that to come, if thou shouldst deal with Me according to My deserts. I confesse, O Lord that it is Thy mercy (which endureth for ever) and Thy compassion (which never fails) which is the cause that I have not bin long ago consumed: But with Thee there is mercy and plenteous Redemption; in the multitude therefore of Thy Mercies, and by the Merits of Iesus Christ, I intreat Thy Divine Majesty, that thou wouldst not enter into judgement with Thy Servant, nor be extrem to mark what is done amisse, but be Thou mercifull unto Me, and wash away all My sins with that precious blood that My Saviour shed for Me. And I beseech Thee, O Lord, not only to wash away all My sins, but also to purge My heart by thy holy Spirit, from the dross of My Naturall corruption. And as thou doest adde days to My life; so good Lord, I beseech Thee, to adde repentance to My dayes, that when I have past this

this mortall life, I may be partaker of thy everlasting Kingdome, through the merits of Iesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Prayer and Confession in and for the times of Affliction.

ALmighty and most mercifull Father, as it is onely Thy goodnesse that admits of Our imperfect prayers, and the knowledge that Thy Mercies are infinite, which can give Vs any hope of Thy accepting or granting them; so it is our bounden and necessary Duty to confesse our sins freely unto Thee; and, of all men living I have most need, most reason so to do, no Man having bin so much obliged by Thee, no Man more grievously offending Thee: That degree of knowledge which Thou hast given Me, adding likewise to the guilt of My transgressions. For was it through ignorance that I suffered innocent blood to be shed by a false pretended way of Iustice? Or that I permitted a wrong way of Thy Worship to be set up in *Scotland*, and injured the Bishops in *England*? O no; but with shame and grief I confesse, that I therein followed the perswasions of worldy wisdom, forsaking the Dictates of a right-informed Conscience: Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy Mercies: for I know My repentance weak, and My prayers faulty! Grant therefore, mercifull Father, so to strengthen My repentance, and amend My prayers, that thou mayest clear the way for Thine owne Mercies; to which, O let Thy Iustice at last give place, putting a speedy end to my deserved afflictions. In the mean time give Me patience to endure, Constancy against Temptations, and a discerning spirit to chuse what is best for Thy Church and people,

people, which Thou hast committed to my charge. Grant this, O most mercifull Father, for Thy Son Iesus Christs sake our onely Saviour, Amen.

A Prayer in time of imminent Danger.

OMost mercifull Father, though My sins are so many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of Thy anger, than so great a deliverance, as to free Me from My present great danger; yet, O Lord, since Thy mercies are over all Thy works, and Thou never failest to relieve all those who with humble and unfeigned repentance come to Thee for succour, it were to multiply, not diminish My transgressions, to despair of thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly desire thy Divine Majesty, that thou wilt not onely pardon all My sins, but also free Me out of the hands, and protect Me from the malice of My cruel enemies. But if thy wrath against My hainous offences, will not otherways be satisfied, than by suffering Me to fall under My present afflictions, thy wil be done; yet, with humble importunity I do and shall never leave to implore the assistance of thy heavenly Spirit, that My cause, as I am thy Vicegerent, may not suffer through My weakness or want of courage. O Lord, so strengthen and enlighten all the faculties of my Mind, that with clearnesse I may shew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloody Triall; that so my sufferings here may not onely glorifie Thee, but likewise be a furtherance to My salvation hereafter. Grant this, O mercifull Father, for his sake who suffered for Me, even Iesus Christ the Righteous. Amen.

Severall

Severall things relating to His MAJESTIES Death.

1. *Foure Quaries propounded by His MAJESTY, when the Armies Remonstrance was read unto Him, at* Newport, *concerning the intended tryall of His Majesty.*

1. WHether this Remonstrance be agreeable to the former Declarations of the Army? and if not, whether the Parliament would make good their Votes, that after he had consented to what they desired he should be in a capacity of Honour, Freedom, and Safety?

2. Whether His acknowledgement of the guilt of the blood that hath been spilt in the late Wars (nothing being as yet absolutely concluded or binding) could be urged so far, as to be made use of by way of evidence against him, or any of his Party?

3. Whether the Arguments that he hath used in a free and personall Treaty, to lessen or extenuate, and avoid the exactnesse of any of the Conditions, though in manner and form onely, might be charged against him as an act of Obstinacy or wilfull persistance in what is alleged against him, in that he goes on in a destructive course of enmity against the people, and the Laws of the Land, when he hath declared, that his Conscience was not satisfied, concerning divers particulars in the Propositions?

4. Whereas by the Letter of the Law all persons charged to offend against the law, ought to be tryed by their Peers or equals, what the Law is if the person questioned is without a Peer, and if the Law which of it self

is but a dead Letter) seems to condemn him, by what power shall judgement be given, and who shall give it? or from whence shall the administrators of such judgement derive their power, which may (by the same Law) be deemed the supreme power or authority of Magistracy in the Kingdom?

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2. *His Majesties Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the High Court of Injustice, which he intended to have delivered in writing on Monday,* Jan. 22. 1648. *but was not permitted.*

HAving already made My protestations not onely against the illegality of this pretended Court, but also that no Earthly power can justly call Me (who am your KING) in question as a Delinquent; I would not any more open My mouth upon this occasion, more than to refer My self to what I have spoken, were I alone in this case alone concerned. But the duty I ow to God in the preservation of the true liberty of My people, will not suffer Me at this time to be silent: For, how can any free-borne Subject of *England* call Life, or any thing he possesseth, his own, if Power without Right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamentall Law of the Land? which I now take to be the present case. Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied Me concerning these grounds which hinder Mee to answer to your pretended Impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judge Me, nor indeed the meanest Man in *England*; for, I will not (like you) without shewing a reason, seek to impose a belief upon My Subjects.

* There is no proceeding just against any Man, but what is warranted either by Gods Laws, or the municipall Laws of the Country where he lives. Now I am most confident, that this days proceeding cannot be warranted by Gods Law, for on the contrary, the authority of obedience unto Kings is clearly waranted and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament; which if denied, I am ready instantly to prove: and for the Question now in hand, there it is said, That *where the Word of a King is, there is power, and who may say unto him, what doest thou? Eccles.* 8. 4. Then for the Laws of this Land, I am no lesse confident, that no learned Lawyer will affirm, that an impeachment can lye against the King, they all going in His Name; and one of their Maximes is, *That the King can do no wrong.* Besides, the Law upon which you ground your proceedings, must either be old, or new: if old, shew it; if new, tell what Authority warranted by the fundamentall Laws of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it self (as is well knowne to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to judge: And it were full as strange that they should pretend to make Laws without King or Lords-House, to any that have heard speak of the Lawes of *England.*

* Here about I was stopt, & not suffered to speake any more concerning Reasons.

And admitting, but not granting, that the people of *Englands* Commission could grant your pretended power, I see nothing you can shew for that; for certainly you never asked the question of the tenth man of the Kingdom, and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest Ploughman, if you demand not his free consent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commission

on without the consent at least of the major part of every man in *England*, of whatsoever quality or condition, which I am sure you never went about to seeke; so far are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for My own right alone, as I am your King, but also for the true liberty of all My Subjects, which consists not in sharing the power of Government, but in living under such Lawes, such a Government, as may give themselves the best assurance of their lives, and propriety of their goods. Nor in this must or doe I forget the Privileges of both Houses of Parliament, which this dayes proceeding doth not onely violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of their publick Faith that (I believe) ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two Houses; for all the pretended crimes laid against Me, bear date long before this late Treaty at *NEWPORT*, in which I having concluded as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the two Houses agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surprized, and hurried from thence as a Prisoner; upon which I account I am against My will brought hither, where since I am come, I cannot but to My power defend the Ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with My own just right; Then for any thing I can see the higher House is totally excluded; And for the House of Commons, it is too well known that the major part of them are deteined or deterred from sitting, so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for Me to protest against the lawfulneſse of your pretended Court. Besides all this, the peace of the Kingdom is not the least in My thoughts, and what hopes of settlement is there so long as Power reigns without rule of Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath flourished for many hundred years; (nor will

will I say, what will fall out in case this lawlesse unjust proceeding against Me do goe on) and believe it, the Commons of *England* will not thank you for this change, for they will remember how happy they have been of late years under the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, the King My Father, and My Self, untill the beginning of these unhappy Troubles, and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happy under any new. And by this time it will be to sensibly evident, that the Arms I took up were onely to defend the fundamentall Laws of this Kingdom, against those who have supposed My power hath totally changed the ancient Government.

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reasons, why I cannot submit to your pretended Authority without violating the Trust which I have from God, for the welfare and liberty of My People; I expect from you either clear Reasons to convince My judgement, shewing Me that I am in an Errour (and then truly I will readily answer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

This I intended to speak in Westminster-Hall *on Monday*, 22 January; *but against Reason was hindred.*

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3. The Names of those persons, who by a pretended Commission, from a few of the late House of Commons (acted therein by the Councell of War) were appointed to judge their *Liege Lord* and *Soveraign* the King.

SErjeant *John Bradshaw*, President.
Tho. Lord *Fairfax*, Gen.
L. Gen. *Oliver Cromwell*.
Com. Gen. *Ireton*.
Major General *Skippon*.

Sr. *Hardresse Waller*.
Col. *Valentine Walton*.
Col. *Thomas Harrison*.
Col. *Edward Whally*.
Col. *Thomas Pride*.
Col. *Isaac Ewer*.
Col. *Richard Ingolsby*.
Sr. *Henry Mildmay*.
Sr. *Tho. Honywood*.
Thomas Lord *Gray*.
Philip Lord *Lisle*.
William Lord *Munson*.
Sr. *John Danvers*.
Sr. *Tho. Maleverer*.
Sr. *John Bowcher*.
Sr. *James Harrington*.
Sr. *Wil. Brereton*.
Rob. Wallop Esq;
Wil. Henningham Esq.
Isaac Pennington Alder.
Tho. Atkins Ald.
Col. *Rouland Wilson*.
Sr. *Peter Wentworth*.
Col. *Henry Martin*.
Col. *Wil. Purefoy*.
Col. *Godphrey Bosvill*.
John Trenchard Esq.
Col. *Hardbottle Morley*.
Col. *John Berkestead*.
Col. *Mat. Tomlinson*.
John Blackestone Esq;
Gilbert Millington Esq;
Sir. *Wil. Constable*.
Col. *Edw. Ludlow*.
Col. *John Lambert*.
Col. *John Hutchinson*.
Sr. *Arthur Hazlerige*.
Sir *Michael Levisley*.
Richard Saloway Esq;
Col. *Rob. Tichburn*.
Col. *Owen Roe*.
Col. *Rob. Mauwering*.
Col. *Rob. Lilborne*.
Col. *Adrian Scroope*.
Col. *Richard Dean*.
Col. *John Okey*.
Col. *Robert Overton*.
Col. *John Harrison*.
Col. *John Desborough*.
Col. *William Goffe*.
Col. *Robert Duckenfield*.
Cornelius Holland Esq;
John Carn Esq;
Sr. *William Armine*.
John Jones Esq;
Miles Corbet Esq;
Francis Allen Esq;
Thomas Lister Esq;
Ben. Weston Esq;
Peregrine Pelham Esq;
John Gourdon Esq;
Serjeant *Francis Thorpe*.
John Nut Esq,
Tho. Challenour Esq;
Col. *Alg. Sidney*.
John Anlaby Esq;
Col. *John Moor*.
Rich. Darley Esq;
Wil. Say Esq;
John Aldred Esq;
John Flagge Esq;
James Nelthorp Esq;

Sr. *Wil. Roberts.*
Col. *Francis Lassels.*
Col. *Alex. Kirby.*
Henry Smith Esq;
Edmond Wild Esq;
James Chaloner Esq;
Josias Barnes Esq;
Dennis Bond Esq;
Humphrey Edwards Esq;
Gregory Clement Esq;
John Fray Esq;
Thomas Wogan Esq;
Sr. *Gregory Norton.*
Col. *Edm. Harvey.*
John Dove Esq;
Col. *John Venne.*
John Foulkes Alderman.
Tho. Scot Ald.
Tho. Andrews Ald.
Wil. Cawley Esq;
Abraham Burrell Esq;
Col. *Anthony Stapley.*
Roger Gratwick Esq;
John Downes Esq;
Col. *Tho. Horton.*
Col. *Tho. Hammond.*
Col. *George Fenwick.*
Serjeant *Robert Nichols.*
Rob. Reynolds Esq;
John Lisle Esq;
Nicholas Love Esq;
Vincent Potter.
Sr. *Gilbert Pickering.*
John Weaver Esq;
Roger Hill Esq;
John Lenthall Esq;
Sr. *Edward Baynton.*
John Corbet Esq;
Tho. Blunt Esq;
Tho. Boone Esq;
Aug. Garland Esq;
Aug. Skinner Esq;
John Dickswell Esq;
Col. *George Fleetwood.*
Simon Maine Esq;
Col. *James Temple.*
Col. *Peter Temple.*
Daniel Blagrave Esq;
Sr. *Peter Temple.*
Col *Tho. Waite.*
John Brown Esq;
John Lowry Esq;
In all 300.

The

4. The Names of those persons who presumed at severall times actually to sit as Judges upon their Soveraign Lord, whereof about 73 did passe sentence of Death upon Him, with the Names of the Councell and Officers that attended them.

Serjeant *John Bradshaw*, President.
L. Gen. *Oliver Cromwel.*
Com. Gen. *Ireton.*
Major. Gen. *Skippon.*
Sr. *Hardresse Waller.*
Col. *Tho. Harrison.*
Col. *Edw. Whalley.*
Col. *Tho. Pride.*
Col. *Isaac Ewer.*
Col. *Rich. Ingolsby.*
Sr. *Henry Mildmay.*
Thomas Lord *Grey.*
Philip Lord *Lisle.*
Wil. Lord *Munson.*
Sr. *John Danvers.*
Sr. *Tho. Maleverer.*
Sr. *John Bowcher.*
Sr. *James Harrington.*
Sr *Wil. Brereton.*
Wil. Henningham Esq;
Isaac Pennington Alder.
Tho. Atkins Alder.
Rouland Wilson Ald.
Sir *Peter Wentworth.*
Col. *Henry Martin.*
Col. *Wil. Purefoy.*
Col. *Godfrey Bosvil.*
Col. *John Berkestead.*
Sr. *Wil. Constable.*
Col. *Edw. Ludlow.*
Col. *John Hutchinson.*
Col. *Rob. Titchburne.*
Col. *Owen Roe.*
Col. *Adrian Scroop.*
Col. *John Okey.*
Col. *John Harrison.*
Col. *John Desborough.*
Cornelius Holland Esq;
Miles Corbet Esq;
Francis Allen Esq;
Peregrine Pellham Esq;
John Gourdon Esq;
Serjeant *Francis Thorp.*
Tho. Challoner Esq;
Col. *John Moor.*
John Alured Esq;
Col. *Francis Lassells.*
Henry Smith Esq;
James Chaloner Esq;
Dennis Bond Esq;
Humphrey Edwards Esq;
Gregory Clement Esq;
John Fry Esq;
Tho. Vogan Esq;
Sir *Gregory Norton.*
Col. *Edmond Harvey.*
John Dove Esq;

Col. *John Ven.*
John Foulkes Alderman.
Tho. Scot Ald.
Tho. Andrews Ald.
William Cawly Esq;
Anthony Stapeley.
John Lisle Esq;
John Corbet Esq;
Thomas Blunt Esq;
Tho. Boone Esq;
Col. *George Fleetwood.*
Col. *James Temple.*
Col. *James Waite.*
John Brown Esq;
Wil. Say Esq;
Col. *Mat. Tomlinson.*
John Blackeston.
Gilbert Millington.
Abraham Barrell.
Col. *John Downes.*
Mr. *Norton.*
L. Gen. *Tho. Hammond.*
Nicholas Love.
Augustine Garland.
Sir *Miles Levesey.*
John Dexwel.
Simon Mayre.
Daniel Blagrave.
Col. *Robert Lilburne.*
Col. *Rich. Deane.*
Col *Hewson.*
L. Col. *Wil. Goffe.*
Mr. *Carew.*
Io. Jones.

92. In all.

Counsellours assistants todraw up the Charge against the King.

Dr. *Isaac Dorislaus*, Mr. *Ask*, Mr. *Cook*, and Mr. *Steele*, (who by reason of sickneſſe was absent.)

Serjeant *Danby*, Serjeant at Arms, Mr. *Phelps* Clerk.

Messengers and Door-keepers.

Mr *Walford*, Mr. *Radly*. Mr. *Paine*, Mr. *Howel*, Mr. *Hull*. And Mr *King* Cryer.

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5. *A true Relation of the Kings Speech to the Lady* Elizabeth *and the Duke of* Glocester *the day before His Death.*

HIs Children being come to meet him, He first gave His blessing to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and bade her remember to tell her Brother *James*, when ever she

she should see him, That it was his Fathers last desire, that he should no more look upon *Charls* as his eldest Brother onely, but be obedient unto him as his Soveraign; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then said the King to her, Sweet-heart you'l forget this: No, (said she) I shall never forget it while I live: and pouring forth abundance of tears promised him to write down the particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of *Glouceſter* upon His knee, said, Sweetheart, Now they will cut off thy Fathers Head (upon which words the Childe looked very stedfastly on Him) Mark Childe what I say, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I say, You must not be a King, so long as your Brothers, *Charls* and *James*, do live; For they will cut off your Brothers Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy Head too at the last; and therefore I charge you doe not be made a King by them. At which the Childe sighing, said, I will be torn in pieces first: which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeths *owne Hand.*

WHat the King said to Me the 29 of *Jan.* 1648. being the last time I had the happinesse to see Him, He told Me, He was glad I was come, and although He had not time to say much, yet somewhat He had to say to Me, which He had not to another, or leave in writing; because He feared their cruelty was such, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to me. He wished me not to grieve and torment

ment My self for Him, for that would be a glorious death that He should dye; it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. He bid Me read Bishop *Andrew's* Sermons, *Hooker's Ecclesiasticall Polity*, and Bishop *Laud's* Book against *Fisher*, which would ground me against Popery. He told me, He had forgiven all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also; and commanded us, and all the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, to forgive them. He bid me tell my Mother, that His thoughts had never strayed from Her, and that His love should be the same to the last. Withall He commanded me and My Brother, to be obedient to her: And bid me send His blessing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, with commendation to all His Friends. So after he had given me His blessing, I took my leave.

Further, He commanded us all to forgive those people, but never to trust them; for they had beene most false to Him, and to those that gave them power, and He feared also, to their own Souls: and desired me not to grieve for Him, for He should dye a Martyr, and that He doubted not but the Lord would settle His Throne upon His Son, and that wee should be all happier, than we could have expected to have been, if He had lived: with many other things, which at present I cannot remember.

Elizabeth.

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7. *Another Relation from the Lady* Elizabeth.

THe King said to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, that He would say nothing to Him, but what was for the good of his Soul: He told him, That He heard the Army intended to make him King; but it was a thing not

not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his soule, for he had two Brothers before him, and therfore commanded him upon His blessing, never to accept of it, unlesse it redounded lawfully upon him: And commanded him to feare the Lord, and he would provide for him.

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8. *A Copy of a Letter from the* PRINCE *to the* KING, *dated from the* HAGUE *January* 23. 1648.

SIR,

HAving no means to come to the knowledge of Your Majesties present condition, but such as I receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncertaine) Report, I have sent this Bearer *Seamour* to wait upon Your Majesty, and to bring Me an account of it: that I may withall assure your Majesty, I doe not onely pray for Your Majesty according to My Duty; but shall allwayes be ready to do all which shall be in My power, to deserve that blessing which I now humbly beg of Your Majesty, upon

SIR,

Your Majesties most humble and most obedient Son and Servant.

Hague, *Jan.* 23. 1648.

CHARLS.

The Superscription was thus, *For the King.*

His MAJESTIES last Speech on the Scaffold at His Martyrdom, *Jan.* 30. 1648.

Because we have no other Relation of what His Majesty then spake, save what His Enemies have set forth, nor had his Majesty any Copy (being surprized, and hastned by those that thirsted after His blood,) save onely a few Heads in a little Scrip of Paper, which the Souldiers took from the Bishop of *London*, to whom He gave it: therefore the Reader must be content with this Copy which they have published (some few words being altered to make the sence perfect, which either wilfully, or by mistake of the Writer or Printer were perverted.)

The King being come upon the Scaffold, and looking about him upon the people, who were kept off by Troops of Horse, so that they could not come near to hear him, omitted what he had purposed to have spoken to them (as tis thought) and turning himself to the Souldiers and Officers (the Instruments of the Regicide) spake to them to this effect.

I Shall be very little heard of any body else, I shall therefore speak a word unto you here: Indeed I could have held My peace very well, if I did not think that holding My peace, would make some men think that I did submit to the guilt, as well as to the punishment: But I think it is My duty to God first, and then to My Countrey, to cleare My selfe both as an honest man, a good King, and a good Christian.

I shall begin first with My innocency, and in troth, I think it not very needfull for Me to insist long upon this, for all the World knows that I never did begin a War with the two Houses of Parliament, and I call God to witnesse, to whom I must shortly make an account, that I never did intend to incroach upon their Priviseges, they began upon Me, it is the *Militia* they began upon; they confest that the *Militia* was Mine, but they thought fit for to have it from Me; and to be short, if any body will look to the dates of Commissions, of their Commissions & Mine, and likewise to the Declarations, he will see clearly that they began these unhappy troubles, not I; so that as for the guilt of these Enormous crimes that are laid against Me, I hope that God will clear Me of it: I will not (for I am in charity) and God forbid that I should lay it upon the two Houses of Parliament, there is no necessity of either, I hope they are free of this guilt; but I believe that ill Instruments betweene them and Me, have been the chief cause of all this bloodshed; so that, as I finde My selfe clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too: yet for all this, God forbid that I should be so ill a Christian, as not to say that Gods judgements are just upon Me: Many times he does pay Iustice by an unjust sentence, that is ordinary: I wil onely say this, That an unjust * sentence (*E. of Strafford*,) that I suffered for to take effect, is punished now, by an unjust Sentence upon Me; so far I have said, to shew you that I am an innocent man.

Now for to shew you that I am a good Christian; I hope there is (*Pointing to* D. *Juxon* B. *of London*) a good man that will bear Me witnesse, that I have forgiven all the Word; and even those in particular that have been the chief causers of My Death; who they are, God knows, I do not desire to know, I pray God forgive them.

But

But this is not all, My charity must goe farther, I wish that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great sin in that particular; I pray God with S. *Stephen*, *That this be not laid to their charge*; and withall, that they may take the right way to the peace of the Kingdom, for My charity commands Me not onely to forgive particular men, but to endeavour to the last gasp, the peace of the Kingdom: So (Sirs) I do wish with all My Soul, (I see there is some here will carry it further) (*Turning to some that wrote*) that they may endeavor the peace of the Kingdom.

Now (Sirs) I must shew you both how you are out of the way, and put you in a way; first you are out of the way; for certainly all the way you ever have had yet, as far as I could finde by any thing, is in the way of Conquest; certainly this is an ill way, for Conquest in My opinion is never just, except there be a good and a just Cause, either for matter of wrong, or a just Title, and then if you goe beyond the first quarrel that you have, that makes it unjust at the end that was just at first: For if there be onely matter of Conquest, then it is a great Robbery; as a Pyrat said to *Alexander*, that he was the great Robber, himselfe was but a petty Robber; and so, Sirs, I do thinke for the way that you are in, you are much out of the way.

Now Sirs, for to put you in the way, believe it you will never go right, nor God will never prosper you, untill you give God his due, the King his due (that is, My Successour) and the people their due; I am as much for them as any of you.

You must give God his due, by regulating rightly his Church (according to the Scripture) which is now out of order, and to set you in a way particularly now I cannot, but onely this, A National Synod freely

freely called, freely debating among themselves, must settle this, when every Opinion is freely and clearly heard.

For the King, indeed I will not, the Lawes of the Land will clearly instruct you for that; therefore because it concerns My own particular, I onely give you a touch of it.

For the People. Truly I desire their Liberty and Freedom, as much as any body whomsoever; but I must tell you, That their Liberty and their Freedom, consists in having Government under those Laws, by which their Lives and their Goods may be most their own. It is not in having a share in the Government, that is nothing pertaining to them. A Subject and a Soveraign are clean different things; and therefore, untill you do that, I mean, That you doe put the people into that Liberty as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves.

Sirs it was for this, that now I am hither come: for if I would have given way to an Arbitrary way, for to have all Laws changed acording to the power of the Sword, I needed not to have come here; and therefore, I tell you, (and I pray GOD it bee not laid to your charge) That I am the Martyr of the People.

Introth Sirs, I shall not hold you any longer; I will onely say this to you, That I could have desired some little time longer, because I would have put this that I have said, in a little better order, and have had it a little better digested, then I have done; and therefore I hope you will excuse Me.

I have delivered My Conscience. I pray God, that you doe take those courses that are best for the good of the Kingdom, and your own Salvations.

Bishop of *London*. Will your Majesty (though it be very well known what your Majesties affections are

are to Religion, yet becauſe it may be expected, that You ſhould ſay ſomewhat) declare your ſelf for the Worlds ſatisfaction in that point.

King. I thank you very heartily (my Lord) for that I had almoſt forgotten it. Introth Sirs, My Conſcience in Religion, I think, is very well known to all the World; and therefore I declare before you all, That I die a Chriſtian according to the profeſſion of the Church of *England*, as I found it left to Me by My Father; and this honeſt man (* *pointing to the Biſhop,*) I think will witneſſe it. Then turning to the Officers He ſaid, Sirs excuſe Me for this ſame. I have a good Cauſe, and I have gracious God; I will ſay no more.

Biſhop of *London.* There is but one Stage more. This Stage is turbulent and troubleſome; it is a ſhort one: But you may conſider it will ſoon carry You from Earth to Heaven; and there You ſhall finde a great deal of Cordial Joy, and Comfort.

King. I goe from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where no diſturbance can be, no diſturbance in the World.

The Biſhop. You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal Crown; a good exchange.

Then the King, after ſome ſhort and fervent ejaculations in private, with hands and eyes lift up to Heaven; immediately ſtooping down, laid His neck upon the block: And then the Wretch appointed to give the fatall blow, putting His hair under His Cap, the King ſaid, ſtay for the ſigne.

And after a very little pauſe, ſtretching forth His hands, The Villain at one blow, ſevered His Head from His Body.

Sic cecidit Carolus, *ſic univerſa ſimul Britannia.*

Lam.

Lam. 4.20. *The breath of our noſtrils, the Anointed of the Lord was taken in their pits, of whom we ſaid, under his ſhadow we ſhall live among the Heathen.*

Chap. 5. 15, 16, 17. *The Joy of our heart is ceaſed, our dance is turned into mourning.*

The Crown is fallen from our Head, wo unto us that we have ſinned.

For this our heart is faint, for theſe things our eyes are dim.

The Names of the Pretended Mayor and Aldermen of *London* that perſonally proclamed the Act for the aboliſhing of Kingly Government.

ALd. *Andrews* Mayor,
Alder. *Pennington*,
Alderman *Foulks*,
Alderman *Kenrick*,
Alderman *Byde*,
Alderman *Edmonds*,
Alderman *Pack*,
Alderman *Bateman*,
Alderman *Atkins*,
Alderman *Venne*,
Alderman *Avery*,
Alderman *Wilſon*,
Alderman *Dethick*,
Alderman *Foot*.

Proclamed *May* 30. 1649.

A Speech made in Latine, by Dr. *Lotius*, to King CHARLS the Second, in the name of the Conſiſtory of *Hague*, and in the preſence of the reſt of the Miniſters of that Church, upon the death of King CHARLS the Firſt, 7. *Calend. Martii*, 1649.

SERENISSIME REX.

VIſum eſt Deo, ſummo rerum Arbitro ac Moderatori, grave vulnus infligere SERENISSIMÆ FA-

FAMILIÆ TVÆ MAIESTATIS, cujus & nos ſenſu tacti, adſumus, ut ſi quod Magnus Paracletus conſolationis ſuggeſſerit Verbum, MAJESTATIS TVÆ in ſinum expromamus.

Magna nobis pars ſolatii, & cum eo Patientiæ perit ſæpius, cum nimium intenti inſtrumentis & cauſis ſecundis, verberantem Dei manum non, ut oportet, conſideramus. Nos ii non ſumus, SERENISSIME REX, qui eos velimus excuſatos, quorum Horrendum Facinus tam alti doloris cauſa eſt, abſit, abſit. Teſtamur enim coram Deo noſtro, cui in Spiritu ſervimus, nos illud *inauditum paricidium*, illam *execrandam lanienam* Sacroſancti & Uncti Capitis & æternum deplorandam *nvici* reformatæ Profeſſionis Regis mactationem ex animo *deteſtari*. Quippe ni; cùm *Sacrilegum* hoc *Scelus* directè impugnet Deum *per quem Reges regnant*, ejus verbum in Scriptura comprehenſum, ubi quæ CÆSARIS ſunt, CÆSARI danda voluit; qui Regum Rex eſt; imò injuriam faciat ſummam Rationi, Humanitati, & communi ſubjectorum Societati, & oſtendat quid ſit eſſe INDEPENDENTEM.

Quod volumus SERENISSIME REX, hoc eſt, adoranda eſſe, & probanda illa in Deo Iudicia, quæ ut ingrata à nobis ſunt & occulta ſæpè, ſemper tamen juſta. Quibus annumeranda præcipuè veniunt ea, quando per impios Dens probos exercet, vultque ut ſui gemant ſub preſſura *alienigenarum* (*ANGLOS enim eos non agnoſcimus qui in Legitimum REGEM ANGLIÆ inſurgunt*) quod tamen, quòd ſolenne ſit, non eſt quòd è Scripturis utriuſque Teſtamenti probemus, cùm gravis hujus TUÆ MAIESTATIS SERENISSIMÆ FAMILIÆ afflictio abundè teſtimonio ſit & documento. Ubi nihil nobis Chriſtianis reliqui quam cum Regio vate ingeminare, *Tacui Domine quia tu feciſti*, reſpicere ad caſtigantem Dei Dextram; Animam poſſidere in patientia; forti Ultori Cauſam ſuam com-

commendare, & Patrocinium; quinimò, pro inimicis intercedere apud Deum: ſic præivit *Regia & jam in & cum CHRISTO ſuo* fœlix *Anima* SERENISSIMI TUÆ MAIESTATIS PARENTIS, ad exemplum Salvatoris & Protomartyris *Stephani*: ut reverſi ad Dominum Deum ſerio pœnitentiam agant, apúdque eum culpam confeſſi & deprecati, & ad Dominum ſuum redeant & quoque ad officium, & debitam obedientiam; quod nos fore maximum ad veram Conſolationem compendium exiſtimamus. Quæ quidem conſolatio tum demum vim exercebit ſuam, cum voluntas noſtra, ſe ſupremæ voluntati ſubjecerit, atque actu ipſo probaverit, nos non fruſtrà, aut minus attentè, toties apud Deum exclamaſſe, Fiat voluntas tua.

Commendamus inſuper TUÆ MAIESTATI curam ac defenſioonem Religionis Reformatæ, cujus in Anglia Palladium in Synodi Nationalis Canonibus conſtare, *qui inter Beatos jam triumphat, in Articulo MORTIS REX PIENTISSIMVS* declaravit; quod *nos certè non abnuimus*: quam Religionem ut ſartam tectam habere velit TUAM MAIESTATEM obnixè obſecramus. Quod ſupereſt, veneramur, venerabimúrque ſummum illud Numen, ut TUAM MAIESTATEM Spiritu ſuo in Cœlis induat; ſalutaribus Conſiliis, & Conſiliariis inſtruat; patientiam illi largiatur; Sceptrum confirmet; totámque adeo SERENISSIMAM FAMILIAM *in integrum* reſtituat, & interim conſoletur: Faxit hoc Pater Miſericordiarum & omnis Conſolationis in Chriſto per Spiritum Sanctum. *Amen.*

12. The same done into English.

Most gracious King,

IT hath pleased God, the Supreme Iudge and Moderator of all things, to give a sore wound to Your MAJESTIES *most Renowned Family*: With the sense whereof we likewise being deeply touched, are here present, that if the great *Comforter* shall minister any word of consolation, we may pour it forth into your MAJESTIES bosome.

A main portion of comfort, and (with that) of patience is oft-times lost unto us; when, being too intent upon instrumentall and second Causes, we do not consider (as behoves) the wounding hand of GOD. Wee are none of those (*most Gracious* KING) who would any way excuse them, whose *Horrible Villany* is the cause of so deep a sorrow. *God forbid! God forbid.*

For we publish and declare in the presence of our GOD, whom we serve in spirit, that we do detest from our souls, that *never til now heard of Paricide*, that *execrable Butchery* of the SACRED AND ANOINTED HEAD, and that eternally to be lamented *Murther* of the ONLY KING of the Reformed Religon. And why not? When as this *cursed* and *Sacrilegious wickednesse* does directly fight against God, *By whom Kings Reigne*; against his Word revealed in Scripture, where He, who is King of Kings, wils and commands us, *to give unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsars.* Yea, and which does the highest affront that can be, to *Reason, Humanity*, and the common *society of Subjects*: And (in a word) shews what it is to be an *Independent.*

Most Renowned King, our desire is, That the judgements of God be adored and approved of; which, however they may be *irksome* unto us, and oft-times *sower*

secret, yet they are alwayes *just*. Among which, these are especially to be numbred, *viz.* when God tryeth and exerciseth the *Righteous* by the *wicked*, and is pleased that his *own* should groan under the pressure of *Strangers* (*'For we do not acknowledge them to be 'ENGLISH-MEN, who do rise up against the lawfull 'KING OF ENGLAND.*) Which yet, that it is frequent and usuall, there is no need wee should fetch proofs for it out of the holy Writ of the *Old* and *New Testament*; When as the heavy affliction which is now upon your MAJESTIES *most Renowned Family*, is an abundant testimony and document. Where there is nothing left for us Christians, but to cry out and ingeminate it with the Kingly Prophet, *Lord, I opened not my mouth, for thou didst it*; to look up to the chastising right hand of God; to *possesse the soul in patience*; to commend his own *Cause* and the defence thereof to the *Mighty Avenger*; Yea, and moreover to intercede with GOD for our *Enemies*, as the *Royal Soul of your* MAJESTIES *most Royall Father*, who *is now happy in, and with his Christ*, has led the way, after the *Example of our Saviour*, and the Protomartyr S. *Stephen*: That they turning to the LORD our GOD may seriously repent, and confessing this their great wickednesse unto him, and beseeching pardon for the same, may likwise return to their Liege-LORD, as also to their Loyalty and due obedience. Which thing we conceive to be the most excellent and compendious way to true consolation. Which consolation shall then at length exercise its full vigour, when *our will* shall have submited it self to the *Supreme Will* of GOD, and have evidenced *actually* and *indeed*, that we have not in vain, or lesse diligently, so often cried aloud unto GOD, *Thy will be done.*

We further commend to Your *Sacred* MAJESTY the defence and patronage of the Reformed Religi-

on; whose very *safe-guard* or *Sanctuary* in *England*, He (that *Most Religious* KING) *who now triumphs among the blessed* did declare to the World at *the point of death* to rest in *the Canons of a National Synod* *. Which truly we can in no wise deny. Which Religion we do earnestly beseech, that Your MAJESTY would preserve safe and entire.

* See the Kings Speech upon the Scaffold.

For the rest, we doe, and ever will pray unto the most high God, to endue your MAJESTY with his heavenly Spirit; and to furnish you with saving *Counsels*, and faithful *Counsellours*; to grant you patience, to establish Your Throne, and so to restore Your whole MOST ILLUSTRIOUS FAMILY to their *full Rights*; and in the mean while to comfort them.

The *Father* of mercies, and of all consolation, grant this in *Jesus Christ* by his holy Spirit. *Amen.*

Severall Verses made by divers Persons upon His Majesties Death.

An Epitaph upon King CHARLS.

SO falls that Stately *Cedar*, while it stood,
That was the onely Glory of the *Wood*.
Great CHARLS, thou earthly God, Celestial Man,
Whose life like others, though it were a Span,
Yet in that Span was comprehended more
Than Earth hath waters, or the Ocean shore.
Thy heavenly Vertues Angels should rehearse,
It is a Theme too high for humane Verse.
He that would know Thee right then, let him look
Upon thy rare incomparable Book;
And read it o're and o're; which if he do,
Hee'l finde thee *King*, and *Priest*, and *Prophet* too;

And sadly see our loss; and, though in vaine,
With fruitless Wishes call Thee back againe.
Nor shall Oblivion sit upon Thy Hearse,
Though there were neither Monument nor Verse.
Thy suff'rings and Thy *Death* let no man name;
It was thy *Glory* but the Kingdoms *Shame*.

I. H.

Another:

HE that can spel a Sigh, or read a Tear,
Pronounce amazement, or Accent wild Fear:
Having all Grief by Heart, He, only He
Is fit to write and read thy Elegy
Unvalued CHARLS: Thou art so hard a Text,
Writ in one Age, not understood i'th' next.

Another:

WIthin this Sacred *Vault* doth lye
The Quintessence of MAJESTY;
Which being Set, more Glorious shines;
The best of *Kings*, best of Divines;
Britans shame, and *Britans* glory,
Mirror of Princes, compleat Story
Of *Royalty*, One so exact;
That th' *Elixers* of praise detract:
These are saint Shadows: But t'endure,
He's drawn to th'Life in's POURTRAICTURE:
If such another *Piece* you'l see,
Angels must Limn it out, or He;
Where Wisdom, Grace and Eloquence,
Are Centred in their Eminence.
Marty'd He was to save His Laws,
Religion, People, from the Jaws

Of ASSASINES; whose weal he sought,
Even then when they his *Murder* wrought
With horrid Plots, that *headlesse* He
(And in Him Church and State) might be.
Then since Correlatives they were,
Three Kingdoms in one KING *lies here.*

A. B.

Upon the Picture of his Majesty, sitting in his Chair before the High Court of Injustice.

4

NOt so Majestick in thy Chair of State!
On that but Men, here God and Angels wait:
Expecting whether hopes of Life, or fear
Of Death can move thee from thy Kingly sphear
Constant and fixt, whom no black storms can soyl,
Thy Colours, Head, and Soûle, are all in oyl.

Upon the Picture of his Majesty in His Blew Wastcoat.

5.

HEre shines in a Field *Azure* such a Star,
As at whose Fall Kingdoms amazed are.
Fixt by his fall. Chief of the sparkling train,
'Bove *Ariadnes* Crown, or his own Wayn.
Look! what a ray he darts? So *Moses* shone
While stupid *Israel* 'fore a Calf was thrown.
Onely the difference make, you must account
Him coming from, this going to the Mount.

Upon the Death of King CHARLS the first.

6.

GReat! Good! and Just! could I but rate
My griefs, and thy too rigid fate,
I'de

I'de weep the world to such a strain,
As it should deluge once againe.
But since thy loud-tongu'd blood demands supply
More from Briareus *hands than* Argus *eye,*
I'le sing thy Obsequies with Trumpets sounds
And write thy Epitaph with blood and wounds.

MONTROSSE.

Written with the point of his Sword.

7

A Deep Groan at the Funerall of that incomparable and glorious Monarch Charls *the first.*

TO speak our Griefs at full over thy Tombe
(Great Soule) we should be Thunder-struck and dumbe;
The Triviall Offrings of our bubling eyes
Are but fair Libels at such Obsequies.
When grief bleeds inward, not to sense, tis deep;
W'have lost so much, that 'twere a sin to weep.
The wretched Bankrupt counts not up his summes,
When his inevitable ruine comes:
Our losse is finite when we can compute;
But that strikes speechlesse, which is past recruit.
W' are sunk to sense, and on the ruine gaze,
As on a curled Comets firie blaze,
And Earthquakes fright us when the teeming Earth
Rends ope her bowels for a fatall birth;
As inundations seize our trembling eyes,
Whose rowling billowes over Kingdoms rise.
Alas! our ruines are cast up, and sped
In that black Totall--*Charls* is murdered.
Rebellious Gyant hands have broke that Pole,
On which our Orbe did long in glory roul.
That *Roman Monsters* wish in act we see.
Three Kingdoms necks have felt the Ax in Thee.
The Butchery is such as when by *ain*,
The fourth division of the World was slain.

The

The mangled Church is on the ſhambles lay'd,
Her Maſſacre is on thy Block diſplay'd,
Thine is the peoples epidemick Tombe,
Thy Sacrifice a num'rous *Hecatombe*.
The Powder-Mine's now fir'd; we were not freed,
But reſpited by Traytors thus to bleed.
November's plots are brew'd and broach'd in worſe,
And *January* now compleats the Curſe.
Our Lives, Eſtates, Laws, and Religion, all
Lie cruſh'd and gnaſhing in this diſmall fall.
Accurſed day that blottedſt out our Light!
May'ſt thou be ever muffled up in Night.
At thy return may ſables hang the ſkie;
And tears, not beams, diſtil from Heavens Eye.
Curs'd be that ſmile that gilds a Face on thee,
The Mother of prodigious Villanie.
Let not a breath be wafted but in moans,
And all our words be but articulate groans.
May all thy *Rubrick* be this diſmall Brand;
Now comes the miſcreant Dooms-day of the Land.
Good-Friday wretchedly tranſcrib'd; and ſuch
As Honour brings alike, though not ſo much.
May Dread ſtill fill thy minutes, and we ſit
Frighted to think what others durſt commit.
A Fact that copies Angels when they fell,
And juſtly might create another Hell.
Above the ſcale of Crimes; Treaſon ſublim'd,
That cannot by a parallel be rim'd.
Ravilliacks was but under-graduate ſin,
And *Gowry* here a Pupil Aſſaſſin.
Infidel wickedneſſe, without the *Pale*;
Yet ſuch as juſtifies the Canniball.
Ryot Apocryphal, of *Legend* breed;
Above the Canon of a Jeſuites Creed.
Spirits of witchcraft, quinteſſentiall guilt;
Hells *Pyramid*; another *Babel* built.

Monſtrous

Monſtrous in bulk; above our *Fancies* ſpan;
A *Behemoth*, a crime *Leviathan*.
So deſperately damnable, that here
Ev'n *Wild* ſmels Treaſon, and will not appear.
That murdering-peece of the new Tyrant-State,
By whom't hath ſhot black Deſtinies of late;
He that belch'd forth the Loyall *Burleighs* doom,
Recoyles at this ſo dreadfull Martyrdom.
What depth of terrour lies in that offence,
That thus can grinde a ſeared Conſcience?
Helliſh Complotment! which a League renew's,
Leſſe with the men, than th'actions of the Jews.
Such was their Bedlam Rabble, and the Cry
Of *Juſtice* now, 'mongſt them was *Crucifie*:
Pilates Conſent is *Bradſhaws* Sentence here;
The *Judgement Hall's* remov'd to *Weſtminſter*.
Hayle to the Reeden Scepter; th' Head, and knee
A&t o're again that Curſed Pag'antry.
The Caitiffe crew in ſolemn pomp guard on
Mock'd Majeſty as not to th' Block but Throne.
The Belch agrees of thoſe envenom'd Lyes;
There a Blaſphemer, here a Murd'rer dyes.
If that goe firſt in horrour, this comes next,
A pregnant Comment on that gaſtly Text.
The Heav'ns ne're ſaw, but in that Tragick hour,
Slaughter'd ſo great an *Innocence* and *Power*.
Blood-thirſty Tygers! could no ſtream ſuffice
T' allay that Hell within your breaſts but this?
Muſt you needs ſwill in *Cleopatra's* Cup,
And drink the price of Kingdoms in a ſup?
Ciſterns of Loyalty have deeply bled
And now y'have damm'd the Royall Fountain Head.
Cruel *Phlebotomy*! at once to drain
The *Median*, and the rich *Baſilick* vein:
The tinctures great that popular murther brings,
Tis Scarlet deep, that's dy'd in blood of Kings.

But

But what; could *Israel* finde no other way
To their wish'd *Canaan* than through the Red Sea?
Must God have here his deading fire and Cloud,
And he be th' Guide to this outragious Crowd?
Shall the black *Conclave* counterfeit his hand,
And superscribe their Guilt, *Divine command*?
Doth th'ugly Fiend usurpe a Saint-like grace?
And Holy-water wash the Devils face!
Shall *Dagons* Temple the mock'd Ark inclose?
Can *Esaus* hands agree with *Iacobs* voice?
Must *Molechs* fire now on the Altar burn?
And *Abels* blood to Expiation turn?
Is Righteousnesse so lewd a Baw'd? and can
The Bibles Cover serve the Alcoran?
Thus when Hell's meant, Religion's bid to shine
As *Faux* his Lantern lights him to his mine.
Here, here is sins *non ultra*, when one Lie,
Kils this, and stabs at sacred *Majesty*,
And though his sleepy arm suspend the scourge
Nor doth loud blood in winged Vengeance urge,
Though the soft hours awhile in pleasure flye,
And conquering Treason, sing her Lullabie;
The guilt at length in fury hee'l inroul
With barbed arrows on the traitrous soul.
Time may be when that *Iohn-a-Leyden* King.
His Qnarters to this Tombe an Off'ring bring,
And that *Re-Munster'd* Rabble may have eyes
To read the price of their dear Butcheries:
Yet if just Providence reprieve the Fate,
The judgement will be deeper though 't be late.
And after-times shall feel the curse enhanc'd,
But how much they've the sin bequeath'd, advanc'd.
Mean time (most blessed shade the Loyall Eye
Shall pay her Tribute to thy memory.

Thy

Thy *Aromatick* Name shall feast our sense,
'Bove balmy *Spiknards* fragrant Redolence,
Whilst on thy loathsome Murderers shall dwell,
A plague-sore, blayn, and rotten Ulcers smell.
Wonder of men and goodnesse! stamp'd to be
The Pride, and flourish of all History.
Thou hast undone the Annals, and engross'd
All th'Heroes glory which the Earth e're lost.
Thy privilege tis onely to commence
Laureate in Sufferings, and in patience.
Thy wrongs were bove all sweetnesse to digest,
And yet thy sweetnesse conquer'd the sharp test:
Both so immense and infinitely vast,
The first could not be reach'd but by the last.
Mean Massacres are but in death begun;
But thou hast liv'd an execution.
Close coffin'd up in a deceased Life;
Had Orphan-Children, and a Widow-Wife.
Friends not t' approach, or comfort, but to mourn
And weep thy un-heard plaints, as at thy urn?
Such black attendants Colonied thy Cell,
But for thy presence *Car'sbrook* had been Hell.
Thus basely to be Dungeond, would enrage
Great *Bajazet* beyond an Iron Cage.
That deep indignity well might have layn
Something the lighter from a *Tamerlain*.
But here *Sidonian* Slaves usurpe the Reins,
And lock the Scepter-bearing arms in chains.
The spew'd-up surfeit of the glut'nous Land:
Honour'd by scorn, and clean beneath all brand.
For such a Varlet-Brood to tear all down,
And make a common Foot-ball of the Crown,
T'insult on wounded Majesty, and broach,
The blood of Honour by their vile reproach,

What

What royall eye but thine could ſober ſee,
Bowing ſo low, yet bearing up ſo high?
What an unbroken ſweetneſſe grac'd thy Soul,
Beyond the world, proud conqueſt, or controul?
Maugre grim cruelty, thou keepſt thy hold;
Thy thorny Crown was ſtill a Crown of Gold.
Chaſte Honour, Might enrag'd could ne're deflour,
Though others th' Uſe, Thou claim'dſt the Right of power.
The brave *Athenian* thus (with lopp'd-off Hands)
A ſtop to ſwelling ſayls by's mouth commands.
New Vigour rouz'd Thee ſtill in thy Embroyls
Antæus like, recruiting from the Foyles.
Victorious fury could not terrour bring
Enough to quell a captivated King.
So did that *Roman Miracle* withſtand
Hetrurian ſhoals but with a ſingle hand.
The Church in thee had ſtill her Armies; thus
The World once fought with *Athanaſius*.
The Gantlet thus upheld; it is decred,
(No ſafety elſe for Treaſon) *Charls* muſt bleed.
Traytour and Soveraigne now inverted meet;
The wealthy Olives drag'd to th' Brambles feet.
The throne is metamorphoz'd to the Barre,
And deſpicable Bats the Eagle dare.
Aſtoniſhment! yet ſtill we muſt admire
Thy courage growing with thy conflicts high'r.
No palſied hands or trembling knees betray
That Cauſe, on which thy ſoule ſure bottom'd lay.
So free and undiſturbed flew thy Breath,
Not as condemn'd, but purchaſing a Death.
Thoſe early Martyrs in their funeral pile
Embrac'd their Flames with ſuch a quiet ſmile.

What

Brave *Cœur-de-Lyon* Soul, that would'ſt not vail
In one baſe ſyllable to beg thy Bayl!
How did'ſt thou bluſh to live at ſuch a price,
As ask'd thy people for a ſacrifice?
Th' *Athenian Prince* in ſuch a pitch of zeal,
Redeem'd his deſtin'd Hoſt, and commonweal;
Who brib'd his cheated Enemies to kill,
And both their Conqueſt, and their Conquerour fell.
Thus thou our Martyr dy'dſt: but oh! we ſtand
A Ranſome for another *Charls* his Hand.
One that will write thy Chronicle in Red,
And dip his Pen in what thy Foes have bled.
Shall treas'nous Heads in purple Caldrons drench,
And with ſuch veins the flames of Kingdoms quench.
Then thou art leaſt at *Weſtminſter*, ſhalt be
Fill'd in the pompous Liſt of Majeſty.
Thou *Manſolæum* ſhall in glory riſe,
And tears, and wonder force from Nephews Eyes.
Till when (though black-mouth'd *miſcreants* engrave)
No Epitaph, but Tyrant, on thy Grave,
A Vault of Loyalty ſhall keep thy Name,
An orient, and bright *Olibian* flame.
On which, when times ſucceeding foot ſhall tread,
Such Characters as theſe ſhal there be read.
Here *Charls* the beſt of Monarchs, butcher'd lies;
The Glory of all *Martyrologies*.
Bulwak of Law; the Churches Cittadel;
In whom they triumph'd once, with whom they fell;
An Engliſh *Solomon*, a *Conſtantine*;
Pandect of Knowledge, Humane and Divine.
Meeke ev'n to wonder, yet of ſtouteſt Grace,
To ſweeten Majeſty, but not debaſe.
So whole made up of clemency, the Throne
And Mercy-ſeat to Him were alwayes one.

Inviting

Inviting Treason with a pardoning le
Instead of Gratitude, a stab he took.
With passion lov'd, that when He mur.
Hea v'n conquered seem'd, and Hell to b.
A Prince so richly goo', so blest a Reign,
The world ne're saw but one, nor can again.

——— Humano generi Natura benigna
Nil dedit, aut tribuet moderato hoc principe m.,
In quo vera dei, vivénsque eluxit imago:
Hunc quoniam scelerata cohors violavit, acerbas
Sacrilego Deus ipse petet de sanguine pœnas,
Contemptúmq; sui Simulachri haud linquet inultum.

Parodia ex Buchanani Geneth: Jacobi sext
D. H. K.

Never was villany so bare-
faced or Treason so bold as in
the case of that most glorious
martyr Charles the 1st

FINIS.